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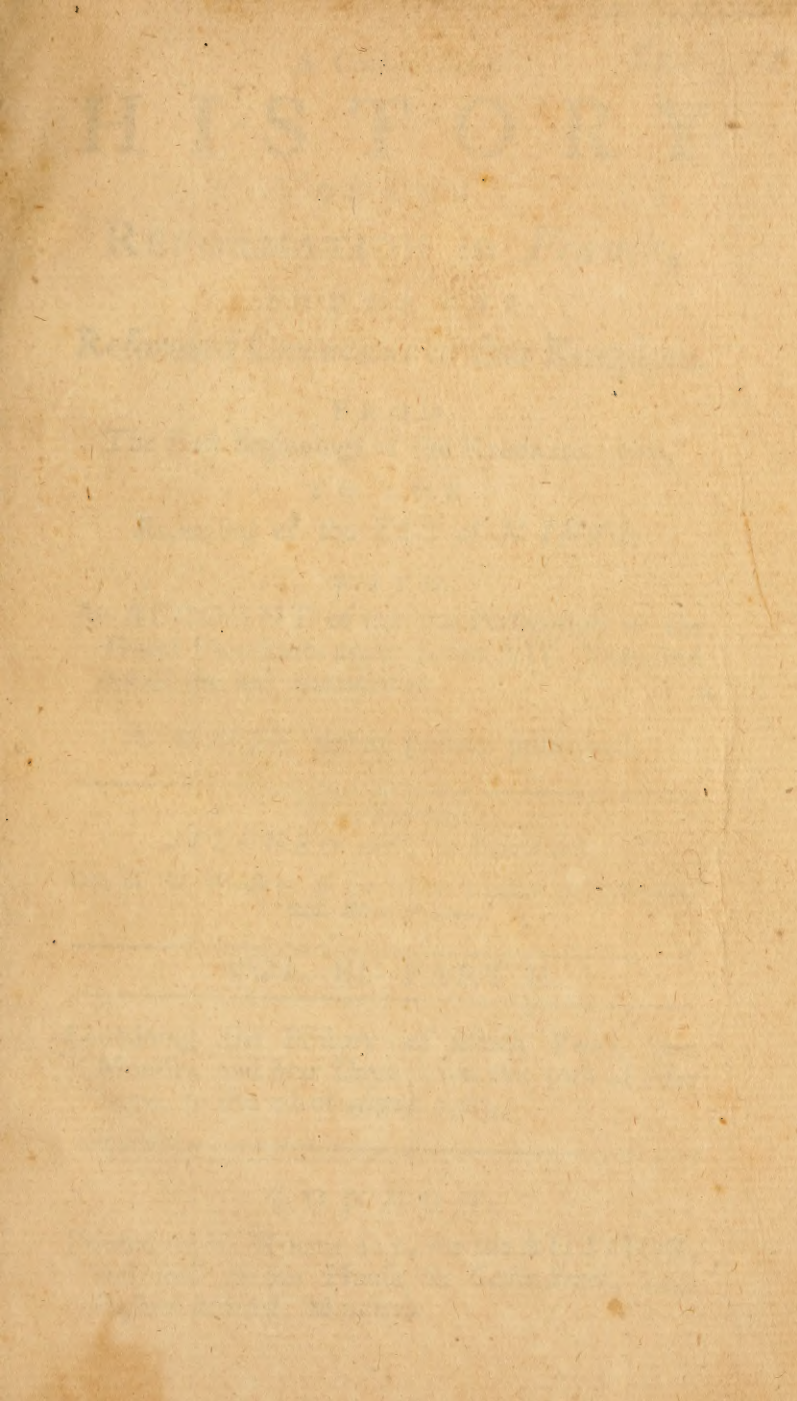
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HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION in *France*,

AND OF THE

Reformed CHURCHES in that Kingdom.

FROM

The First Beginnings of the REFORMATION,

TO THE

Repealing of the Edict of *NANTZ*.

WITH

An ACCOUNT of the late Persecution of the
French Protestants under *Lewis XIV.* Extracted
out of the best Authorities.

A WORK never before published.

By the Reverend ✓

STEPHEN ABEL LAVAL,

One of the Ministers of the United Chapels of *Castle-street*
and *Berwick-street*.

VOL. III. PART II.

Containing the History of fifteen Years, two
Months, and four Days, from the 30th of *May*
1574, to the 2d of *August* 1589.

L O N D O N:

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

THIS Volume contains the principal Events of the most remarkable Reign in the History of *France*, even without excepting that of *Charles VII.* We see here one of the most powerful Monarchies of *Europe*, very near falling under a foreign Domination, or of being dismember'd, to satiate the Ambition of several private Persons, more through his Negligence who govern'd, who took no measures to prevent the ambitious Designs of a House, which had sworn his Ruin, and the Royal Family's, than through any other Cause. To explain this, we must observe, that soon after *Henry III's* Accession to the Crown of *France*, the Kingdom was divided into three Parties. 1°. The Duke of *Guise* and all the Princes of his House. 2°. The King. 3°. The King of *Navarre*. The

first was the greatest; one cannot deny its being a Member of that monstrous Body which was formed in *Europe*, by the Junction of all the Catholick Powers united together under the Pope's Authority, in order to extirpate the Protestants, and Reformed, and to take away their very Name from the face of the Earth, had it been possible. There were in *France* of this Party, the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Aumale*, *Elbæuf*, and *Mercœur*, with a numerous Train of Lords, who for different Reasons followed the Duke of *Guise's* Fortune; a great number of Prelates illustrious for their Birth, as well as for their Dignities, the Cardinals of *Bourbon*, of *Lorrain*, of *Guise*, of *Joyeuse*, &c. The Archbishops of *Lyons*, of *Thoulouse*, of *Bourdeaux*, of *Sens*, of *Roüen*, &c. Many Bishops, most of the Secular, and Regular Orders, not to mention Swarms of Priests, and Preachers, who were the Trumpeters of Rebellion. There were Parliaments, such as those of *Paris*, of *Thoulouse*, of *Dijon*, and others, which although they had not acted so openly, bore the Reformed no less ill-will than the rest, but were restrained for fear of the Governors of the Provinces, who remain'd steadfast in their Duty. This Party was also the greater because it was formed among the Catholicks, who were much more numerous in *France* than the Reformed; and although they were not all of the League in every thing, they nevertheless agreed as

to

to this Point, *viz.* the Preservation of their Religion. And as that was the Pretence under which the Chiefs of that Party conceal'd their pernicious Designs, by this means it was, that they found it so easy a matter to impose upon so many Provinces, and Cities; there being nothing, generally speaking, which touches Men so nearly as Religion, for the Preservation of which, they are always ready to make the greatest Sacrifices, and to carry things to the greatest Extremities.

The second Party was the King's, which, it is true, was the most lawful, since by the Laws of the Kingdom, he was the lawful Possessor of the Crown, but this Party was the weakest. 1°. Because of the Laziness of its Chief, and other scandalous Vices; instead of being active, watchful, firm, courageous, magnanimous, *Henry* lov'd Idleness, Sloth, was without Resolution and Firmness, fearful even to Stupidity, not daring to undertake any thing, and on whom on the contrary, every body might boldly form Pretences; such a one in a Word, that he seem'd to have been rais'd to the Crown, only to convince the whole World, that of all Princes he was the most unworthy to wear it. 2°. Having no Children, and by his disorderly Life having render'd himself incapable to have any, they were accusom'd to look upon him as the setting Sun of his Kingdom; Debates were rais'd about his Succession, when he

had scarce reach'd the Age of being Father. It was by bearing such Indignities, that he ruin'd himself. His Weakness was such, as made People ashamed to declare for him, and for that reason he was contemned both at home and abroad. 3°. His Cowardise and Pusillanimity were so great and so well known, that he was not sure even of any of those whom he thought were of his Party, because nobody dar'd to rely upon him; they fear'd to declare for him against his Enemies, because that he himself dreaded those who declar'd against him, and durst scarce complain thereof. A King that shews that he is afraid of any body in his Kingdom, that there is some body greater than himself, such a King loses all his Majesty, he is no longer good for any thing, and it is very natural to run to the greatest. If we cannot be free, we would at least have but one Master. And if that Master has one greater than himself, we immediately leave the first, and go over to the last.

The third Party was the King of *Navarre's*, compos'd of the Prince of *Condé*, of almost all the Princes of the Blood although Catholick, of all the Reformed Churches of *France*, of the *Politicians* headed by the Duke of *Montmorancy*. This Party was certainly the most just; the beginning of the Civil Wars witnesseth this; they were only on the defensive, and Defence is just and natural in the Case and Circumstances of those of that Party. But they defended

defended themselves after such a manner, that forgetting all the just Reasons they had to complain, they always made it a point of Conscience not to attack the King while he was busied elsewhere, and was obliged to defend himself against the League; and even though they did not doubt but that if the King and the League should once agree together, they would unite their Forces, in order to repress them. They did not stop here; but, whenever they could, they offer'd the King their Services, to help him to recover his Authority against his Enemies, being ready to submit afterwards to any Conditions of Peace which his Majesty would please to grant them, provided only that they should enjoy a full Liberty of Conscience. What could be more just? Now we add nothing to the Truth; *Thuanus* may be consulted upon the seven or eight last Years of *Henry III.* and after such a Testimony, what can one think of those Historians who through Ignorance, or through too great Credulity, or Malice, have accused this Party with aiming at the Regal Authority, and endeavouring its Destruction.

This Party was not only the most just in itself, but it was also the safest, whether regard be had to its Chief, the first Prince of the Blood, the Presumptive Heir to the Crown, a Prince endued with great Wisdom and Courage, whether regard be had

to its Members united together by the Bonds of Conscience, of the same Religion, of the same Interest, and all firmly convinced of the Goodness and Justice of their Cause; whether, lastly, regard be had to the different Tryals they had undergone for so long a time, and which had so harden'd them against Persecutions and Sufferings, that it was morally impossible to destroy them, without the Kingdom being overwhelm'd in their Ruin.

If the King had acted as a Father to his People, if he had follow'd the Rules of true Policy, knowing that it was impossible for him to destroy that Party by Force and Violence, he would have follow'd the wise and prudent Advice given him by the *Emperor*, and the *Venetians*, upon his Return from *Poland*; he would have granted them Peace, and that precious Liberty of Conscience which had already occasion'd so much Bloodshed on both sides, (free for him to refuse them all other Favours) he would have made use of his Authority to cause the Edict which he would have granted for that purpose to be faithfully observed; and ought he to have been beholden for it to their Fidelity and uncorrupted Affection for his Person, he would have accepted their Offers of Services, so often renewed, to suppress the Insolence and Audaciousness of the ambitious Disturbers of the publick Tranquillity, had he not been able to bring it about by other Means. He was sensible

sensible of these Truths, and would have made amends for his Faults, but too late for his own good, and that of all *France*.

It appears by what we have above said, that although this Party was not the greatest by its Number, it was nevertheless the most powerful of the three; the Quality, and Character of its Chief, the Circumstances of the Members, and especially the great Advantages they gain'd under this Reign, are, methinks, uncontestable Proofs of this. Though they were inferiour in Number to the Catholicks, it is nevertheless true that having all the same End in view, *viz.* to maintain Liberty of Conscience, they were strong enough to withstand all their Adversaries Efforts, who had different Views, and aim'd at different Ends. Speaking of the Forces of this Party, I have said, p. 367. that in 1583, their Number must have amounted to one Million, four hundred and six thousand and four hundred Souls. This is far less than their true Number, since that in the first Synod of *Rochelle* held in 1571, there were reckon'd, as in 1561, above 2150 Churches, many of which consisted of ten thousand Members; and there were still more of six, five, and four thousand Members, the greatest number were of 1000, and there were very few under five hundred Persons. So that one may positively affirm that at one time their Number exceeded two Millions. The great figure they made under this Reign deserves

serves that we should take Notice of the Nature of their Government.

It may be consider'd under these two heads, RELIGION, and THEIR CIVIL GOVERNMENT, or POLITICAL STATE.

As to Religion, even in the Year 1559, in the midst of the cruel Persecutions which *Henry II.* excited against them, the Ministers of the Reformed Churches of all the Provinces of *France* assembled in a Synod at *Paris*, for the first time, where they drew up that excellent Discipline in 40 Articles, which are the Foundation of all the others which have been added since, according to the Circumstances of Time, to serve as a Law to those Churches, by which they should conduct themselves in such things as concerned Religion, and Good Manners. Corruption and Vices increasing, as the Time, wherein that wise Discipline was first drawn up, grew more distant; it was absolutely necessary to make new Rules to remedy and correct those Vices, whereby it has happen'd that instead of 40 Articles, of which that Discipline consisted, it contains at present 222, in 14 Chapters, and which are much larger and prolix than the first.

Now to observe some Order in the Government of the Church, which might tend to its Edification, and to the greater Glory of God, our Forefathers thought proper to establish three Courts, subordinate one to another, and from all which,
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in the most grave and important Cases, one might appeal to a fourth, in which all Affairs which concern'd Doctrine or Discipline were definitively judg'd.

The three inferiour Courts were, first, the Consistory; secondly, the Colloquy; thirdly, the Provincial Synod. The superior Court was the National Synod. One might appeal from the one to the other when he thought himself wrong'd, or when an Affair was of too great Importance; as when one or more private Persons belonging to the Church of the same Place, rais'd Debates to break the Union of the Church, concerning some point of Doctrine, or Discipline, or concerning the Form of the Catechism, of the Administration of the Sacraments, or publick Prayers, or the Celebration of Matrimony; and when the particular Admonitions of the Consistory of that Place, did not prove sufficient to remedy them. Also when a Minister or an Elder of the Church did break its Union for the same Reasons; in either of these Cases they appeal'd from the Consistory to the Colloquy, from the Colloquy to the Provincial Synod, and from the Provincial Synod to the National, which judg'd definitively, and without Appeal. But to have a clearer and more distinct Notion of these different Courts, it is proper to enter into some Particulars.

I shall begin with the Consistories, which *Origen*, in his third Book against *Celsus*, calls

calls *the Ecclesiastical Senate*. It was necessary there should be one in every Church. It consisted of the Minister, Elders and Deacons of the said Church. Even in the Places where there was no Temple, and consequently no Minister, but the Inhabitants were obliged to repair to the nearest Place for performing publick Worship, there were among them Elders and Deacons, who inform'd the Consistory of the Place where they met, of every thing they had observed, and which was worth taking notice of.

At that time nobody was admitted to the Holy Ministry but Persons of a known Honesty and Virtue, and whose Capacity and Learning had been often try'd; and although it was the Synod's Office to provide the Churches with Ministers, the Ministers were notwithstanding never receiv'd into them without the unanimous Consent and Approbation of all the Members of the Church, or at least of the greatest number of them, after having preach'd before them two or three times, or oftener; but when once they were admitted, they could not be turn'd out of their Church without a Sentence pronounc'd by the Synod, except in criminal Affairs, then the Colloquy might suspend him, and that Sentence was confirm'd by the Provincial and National Synod: and if they gave undoubted Testimonies of Repentance, the National Synod, or the Provincial Synod by its Or-

der, transferr'd him to another Church after a certain time, unless that Church which he serv'd before, desir'd to have him again.

As to the Elders, they were Laymen, none were admitted to this Office but such as had a good Testimony, and who were of an unspotted Life, endow'd with great Prudence and Moderation. In the Places where the Discipline was not as yet established, they were elected by the People's Votes with the Ministers; but where it was establish'd, the Consistory with the Ministers chose them, after having call'd upon God's holy Name. When any one were elected, they were call'd into the Consistory, where the Functions of their Office were read unto them. After which they were named to the People for two or three *Sundays* following, for to have their Consent also; and if this was not oppos'd, they were publickly receiv'd the third *Sunday*, and they standing before the Pulpit, the Minister made them an Exhortation, and said a Prayer suitable to the Occasion; they were to sign the Articles of their Belief, and the ecclesiastical Discipline. But if they met with Opposition, the Cause was decided by the Consistory, and if they could not agree there, it was referr'd to the Colloquy, or to the Provincial Synod.

Their Office was to watch with the Ministers over the Flock, to oblige every body to come to Church, to declare the
Scandals,

Scandals, and Faults, to examine, and judge them with the Ministers, and in general to assist them in taking care of every thing relating to the Order, Entertainment, and Government of the Church; and in every Church there was a Copy in writing, of their Office, according to the Circumstances of Time and Place. Moreover, in the Minister's absence, they were authorized to read the holy Scripture and the Common Prayer publickly.

As to the Deacons, they were also Laymen, elected and receiv'd after the same manner as the Elders, enjoying the same Privileges; but they were charg'd, besides that, with receiving and distributing, by the Consistory's Order, the Monies for the Poor, the Prisoners, and the Sick, to visit and take care of them; in certain Places they were accusom'd to catechise publickly; the Synod condemn'd this Custom, and order'd that those who were capable should be ordain'd Ministers, if they thought proper, or else should cease teaching publickly.

So much for what concerns those whom the Consistory, or Ecclesiastical Senate, consisted of; I do not here mention, the Students in Divinity, who were sometimes admitted thereto with a great deal of Precaution, and when there were good Assurances of their Prudence and Discretion, because they had no Vote, or if at any time their Opinion was ask'd, their Vote was
not

not deliberative, and it was only to instruct, and train them up to the Government of the Church.

The Consistory of every Church met once a Week, to take care of the Affairs of the Church, and even oftener if there was a necessity; the Ministers always presided in the Consistory, as well as in the other Ecclesiastical Assemblies, and in those Churches where were many Ministers, each presided in turn, and their Office lasted a Week; it consisted in beginning and ending the Assembly with a Prayer, in proposing or causing to be propos'd in order, what was to be the Subject of their Deliberations; in gathering the Votes, in declaring the Majority, and pronouncing the Conclusion; in taking care that every one should speak in order without Confusion, making Remonstrances and Censures.

The Consistory had the Cognizance of every thing wherein the Honour and Welfare of its Church might be concern'd; as of Crimes, Scandals, Disputes, Quarrels bred between private Persons, they judg'd them, they pronounc'd Sentence even of Excommunication, and executed it, it being free nevertheless, (as we have already said) for those who thought themselves wrong'd to have recourse to the Colloquy or Provincial Synod, for Redress. And they proceeded as follows: The Delinquent was summon'd to appear in the Consistory as soon as the Accusation was sufficiently

ficiently proved, for to presume that he was really guilty; he was exhorted to declare the Truth, and made to take an Oath: If after a thorough Examination they had sufficient Evidence to convince him, they censured him, suspended him from the Sacrament for a certain Time, according to the Nature of the Fault, and the Criminal's Character, and the Scandal which his Fault had occasion'd. There were some Cases wherein neither the Suspension nor its Cause were declar'd to the People, no more than the Restoration of the Sinner; but there were others wherein all was declar'd. The case of Rebellion against the Consistory suffer'd no Alleviation, no more than those who committed Crimes which deserv'd corporal Punishments, or who married themselves or their Children, or Pupils, among the Papists, or who carried a Child to be baptized among them; they were quickly suspended from the holy Sacrament for a while, and this Suspension was declared to the People. Excommunication was used only in the greatest Extremities, when the Criminal refus'd to follow the Exhortations which the Consistory made unto him, and would not make his Profit of their Censures, and Corrections. Nevertheless we must observe that the Discipline prescribed unto the Consistories a great deal of Prudence, of Circumspection, and Moderation in the Exercise of that Authority which was trusted
to

to them, it did not permit the Ministers, or Elders, to declare Faults to the Consistory without great Reason, nor to call any body into it without sufficient Occasion for it. Moreover, neither the Consistory all together were to bear witness before the Magistrate against any body, either by Act or otherwise, nor the Members of the Consistory were to reveal to any body the Confessions of those that repented, and who wilfully and of their own Accord, or by Admonitions given them, had confessed their Faults before them, except in cases of High-Treason. The Ministers were also oblig'd to keep all such Faults as were freely confessed to them with the utmost Secrecy, of whatever Nature those Faults might be, except only in Cases of High-Treason. And they were to proceed by Ecclesiastical Censures, even to Excommunication, against any body of the Reformed Religion who should call the Ministers, or the Elders, or all the Consistory before the Magistrate to make them bear witness against the Delinquents who had confessed their Faults. Moreover, tho' the Consistories were obliged to exhort those who had any Differences between them, to make it up after a friendly Manner, and to solicit them unto it, nevertheless the Discipline did not permit them to name any one of their Body, nor to take upon them the quality of Umpires in those Differences; that if any one of their Body

was named for an Umpire by either Party, he might accept of it as a private Person, but not as a Member of the Consistory. Lastly, they were not permitted to make any particular Rule in their Church, which was not agreeable at least in substance to the general Articles of the Discipline, and for this End the Articles of the Discipline were to be read in the Consistory, at least every time the Holy Communion was celebrated; and the Elders and Deacons were each of them to have a Copy thereof, to read, and study it in private. As for the rest, there was to be but one Consistory or Ecclesiastical Council establish'd in each Church. Which Consistory was free, whenever there was a great Necessity, to join to itself such Members of the Church as it pleas'd, provided they should meet to treat of Ecclesiastical Affairs only in that Place where the Consistory was accusom'd to meet.

This is in substance, the Power and Authority of the Consistories; it was not possible to extend it further, even Princes were subject to it, the Consistory of *Rochelle*, and that of *Pons* exercised it on the King of *Navarre*, and that of *Rochelle* on the Prince of *Condé*, as we relate it in its proper place; it may be nevertheless, that a little less severity at least towards Persons of that Rank would not have hurt the Affairs of the Reformed, it may be that that Severity was not one of the least

least Reasons which induced *Henry IV.* to quit his Religion, and that knowing himself, and perceiving that his Temper could not agree with that Strictness of Morals which the Discipline requir'd, he was afraid to debase the Regal Majesty too much, if he submitted his Conduct, and his Actions to the Judgment and Censure of some Divines and Burghers assembled in Consistory, and if he should do in the Church of *Our Lady at Paris*; what he had done in that of *Pons in Saintonge*, and in that of *St. Ton at Rochelle*. However it be, we cannot deny, but that the Consistories shew'd for a long while an admirable Resolution to maintain their Discipline, and made use of their Rights to their utmost Extent, but whether or no this Conduct agreed every way, with the true Interest of the Reformed Churches, I shall not pretend to decide.

II. The second Ecclesiastical Court was nam'd the COLLOQUY; this was a Division of all the Churches of a Province, according to their Number, and the Conveniency of Places, into Classes compos'd of a certain Number of the most neighbouring; for Example, having divided the Kingdom into sixteen Provinces, each Province was subdivided into so many Parts which formed the like Number of Classes, or Colloquies. The Province of *the Isle of France*, was subdivided into five Classes; *The Isle of France* properly so call'd, *the Country of Chartres, Picardy, Champaign,*

and *Brie*, and so of other Provinces. This Division was to be made by the Authority of the Provincial Synod. These Colloquies resembled in some measure the Diocesan Synods of each Bishop, in the ancient Times, or else the Assemblies of some neighbouring Bishops to terminate the Disputes bred between private Persons within their Diocese; be it as it will, the neighbouring Churches were to assemble in Colloquies twice a Year, or four Times if possible, according to the ancient Order, that being left to the Prudence of the Provinces: and there met together, the Minister, or Ministers, and Elders of each Church of that Division. These Assemblies were ordain'd for to endeavour to make up the Disputes which arose in the said Churches, according to the Order of the Discipline, as also to provide for what was thought proper for the Good, and Entertainment, of the said Churches. The Ministers were to open them by a Discourse upon some Text of the Holy Scripture, each in his turn, that by that means one might see what Progress each had made in the Study of the said Scripture, and in the Method of explaining it. And as the Authority of the Consistories was subordinate to that of the Colloquies, so also were the last to the Provincial Synods. At the end of each Colloquy, Brotherly Censures were made both of the Ministers, and Elders who as-

sisted

sisted there, on whatever was thought proper to be remonstrated unto them.

III. The third Ecclesiastical Court was the PROVINCIAL SYNOD. There have been sixteen. This Court was compos'd of one Minister, and one or two Elders of each Church; those Churches which had more than one Minister, deputed them in turns. These Ministers and Elders which were deputed by the Churches, came thither at the common Expence of their Churches; and those Churches which refus'd to pay their Deputies Charges, after two or three Admonitions, were deprived of the Ministry, and the said Minister's Charges were reimburs'd by the Churches to whom they were deputed, free for them to prosecute the ungrateful Church as the Provincial Synod should think proper. The Ministers and Elders who were deputed, were to produce Credentials from their Churches, to the Synod. If a Minister came alone without any Elder, or an Elder without any Minister, no regard was had to the Instructions which either of them brought, except in case of an absolute Necessity, as, of Sickness, &c. In those Cases, if the Church sent its Instructions, they were receiv'd, if they were sign'd by a Minister, and an Elder; on the other hand, if there was no lawful Excuse for Absence, they were subject to the Censures of the Colloquy, or Synod, even to Suspension of the Sacrament, according as the Colloquy or

Synod thought fit. The Provincial Synods judged sovereignly of all the Causes brought before them, except of things wherein all the Churches of *France* were interested, as the Deposition of a Minister, Controversies either concerning Doctrine or Discipline, &c. For in these Cases there was an Appeal to the National Synod, which judg'd definitively. In each Synod they chose with a low Voice a Moderator to preside therein, with one, or two Secretaries. This Moderator's Office (who was always a Minister,) consisted, (besides what we have already said, speaking of the Presidents of the Consistories,) in giving notice of the Places, Days, and Hours on which they were to meet, for the Sessions of the Synods, to keep the Disputers silent, to make them retire in order to consult about their Censures, if they refus'd to obey; in answering those who ask'd Counsel of the Synod either by word of Mouth, or by Writing; all according to the Advice of the Assembly, and not otherwise. The Moderators of the Colloquies and Synods were subject themselves to Censures, and their Office ended with the Colloquy, or Synod, but might be rechosen in the following Synod or Colloquy. The Elders deputed to the Synods, or Colloquies, had deliberative Votes on all the points of Discipline, but not of Doctrine, the Judgment of which was reserv'd entirely to the Ministers, and Professors in Divinity. What was resolv'd

on in a Provincial Synod, to serve as a Rule to the Churches of their Province, was to be approv'd of by a National Synod, before it could pass as a Law. When there were any Debates between two Provincial Synods, they pitch'd on a third to reconcile them. These Synods were to make a List of the Widows and Children of those Ministers who had died in the Service of their Church, that they might be assisted, and entertain'd at the common Charge of each Province; and if the Province was ungrateful, its Deputy was to make his report accordingly to the National Synod, that they might be provided for. The Deputies to the Synods ought not to depart from them without Leave, and without carrying away with them the Synod's Decisions. Lastly, the Provincial Synod's Authority was subordinate to the National Synod, and the first were to meet twice a Year in each Province.

IV. The fourth Ecclesiastical Court, which I call the Sovereign Court, because it judg'd definitively of every thing that came to their Cognizance, was THE NATIONAL SYNOD. It was commonly compos'd of one Minister and one Elder of each Church in the Kingdom; but in Times of Persecution, or other publick Calamity, it was sufficient, that each Provincial Synod should elect two Ministers and two Elders, to appear therein in the name of the whole Province, and whose Instructions

tions were to be sign'd by the Provincial Synod's Moderator, and Secretary; and the Discipline ordain'd that the said Synod should moreover elect three or four Ministers and as many Elders, that in case the first nam'd should not be able to go, there should be others ready to supply their Places. This National Synod was to meet once a Year, and at the end of its Sessions it chose a Province which was to inform the others of the Time, and Place, where the ensuing Synod was to meet. Nevertheless there were times in which that Order could not be observ'd, either because of the Civil Wars, or for other Reasons there was none from 1567; until 1571, nor from 1572 until 1578, nor from 1583 until 1594, nor from 1603 until 1607, nor from 1631 until 1637, nor from thence until 1644; and the next to that, which was the last, was held in the Year 1659. Before the Year 1614, it seems the Churches had assembled in Synod without being obliged to ask the King's Licence, but this Year the Synod of *Tonneins* assembled with Licence; and in the Year 1623, the King declar'd his Pleasure to be, that for the future, there should be a Commissary of the Reformed Religion sent by him, to assist at the Colloquies, and Synods, to hinder them from treating any thing but Ecclesiastical Affairs: and accordingly, his Majesty named Mr. *Augustus Galland* to assist at the Synod of

Charenton

Charenton held in the said Year 1623. Which was in the last Times extended even to the Consistories which could not be held without an Officer, no longer of the Reformed Religion, but of the Roman Catholick, as we shall say in its proper Place. If any Difficulty happen'd in a Province, it was obliged to give notice thereof to that Province which had the care of the Convocation, and this one gave notice thereof to the other Provinces, that they might come to the next Synod, prepar'd to resolve that Difficulty. The Provincial Synods were not to fix any Time for their Deputies to return from the National Synod, but were to give them leave to stay as long as the said Synod should be assembled: The Deputies Charges were paid at the common Expence of the Province whose Deputies they were. The first Thing which was done after the Invocation of God's Name, and the Election of the Moderator, and Secretaries, was, the reading of the Articles of the Confession of Faith, and the Discipline, to which every one promis'd to conform; but afterwards the Abuses introduced in the Elections, obliged our Forefathers to follow another Method; they elected by a Majority of Votes a Moderator, an Assessor, and two Secretaries, the two Secretaries might be Laymen; after which the Moderator examin'd each Deputy's Credentials, and each Deputy was oblig'd to take an Oath before the Moderator, that

that he had not solicited his Election either directly by himself, or indirectly by others; after which they proceeded to the reading of the Confession of Faith, &c.

The National Synod had Power definitively to decide all Ecclesiastical Affairs; it was to confirm, or repeal, the Sentences of Suspension, Excommunication, or Deposition, pronounced by the Consistories, Colloquies, and Provincial Synods, against Ministers, Elders, or Deacons. It was also to judge of the Disputes arisen between a Church, and its Minister, between two Colloquies, or between two Provincial Synods, to transfer a Minister from one Church to another, which was done commonly, by giving that Commission to the Synod of that Province in which the said Church was. All the Provinces were obliged to send Deputies from each Class to the said Synod, except in case of those Calamities which I have already mention'd: if they fail'd, they were subject to Censures, unless they gave reasons for it in a Letter, and that those Reasons were by the Synod thought good. The Deputies from the Provinces were to carry away with them a Copy of the Synod's Resolutions, and the Rules which they had made, sign'd by the Moderator, or Secretary, and a Month after their Return they were to give notice thereof to the Colloquies of their Provinces, that they might send for the said Synod's Acts, and that, at each Colloquy's

Expence.

Expencc. To understand this, we must observe, that besides the Deputies of each Class which compos'd a Province, there were one or two private Deputies from each Province, and that it was the Business of these Deputies to take the said Resolutions and Rules of the National Synod, to give Copies thereof to each Colloquy of their Province, and this was to give them to each Church that compos'd their Colloquy. The National Synods clos'd their Sessions by a Friendly Censure to all the Deputies both Ministers, and Elders, only on what might have happen'd during the said Synod's Sessions. And they receiv'd the Lord's Supper with the Church of that Place, where the Synod had assembled in token of their Union. I have but one Remark more to make, to conclude this Article.

Viz. On the Reception of the Students in Divinity to the Holy Ministry: I have already said, that they were not admitted, till after a rigorous Examination of their Life, and Conversation, as well as of their Learning and Capacity. I shall add, First, that they were receiv'd in a Colloquy if there were seven Ministers present; if the Colloquy consisted of less than seven, and that the said Number could not possibly be got from elsewhere, then the Candidate was to address himself to the Provincial Synod, and having exhibited his Certificates, when they were thought to be

be full enough, he was admitted to be examined, which was done in the following manner; first of all, he had a Text of Scripture generally taken out of the New Testament, to be treated in *French* and delivered in the Synod without Notes; twenty four Hours and no more were allowed him for composing or getting by heart his Discourse: then another Text out of the Old Testament was given him to be treated in *Latin*, and twenty four Hours were likewise allowed him for that as for the other. That done, he read a Chapter of the New Testament, at the opening of the Book, and translated it from *Greek* into *Latin*; as to the *Hebrew*, he was obliged to read some part of the Old Testament, and was to understand it well enough, so as to be able to make use of the best Authors for the understanding of the Scriptures. Which done, he was examin'd upon the most necessary Parts of Philosophy, Logick especially. Then he delivered in *Latin* his Confession of Faith in Writing, whereupon he was very strictly examin'd by way of Disputation, each Minister present having a right to make Objections. When after such an Examination he was found capable, then the Moderator remonstrated to him the Duties of the Office whereunto he was called, and he was to be ordained only in the Church wherein he was to be Pastor. For which purpose the said Church was informed of his Election to be their Pastor by Letters

ters of the Colloquy or Synod brought unto them by two Deputies, and read in full Assembly. Then the Candidate was obliged to preach for three Sundays together in the said Church, that the People might know his way of teaching, they being first advertised, that if any one of them knew of any Impediment, for which his Ordination might not be compleated, or why he could not be accepted, they should give notice thereof to the Consistory, who would judge of the matter. When there was no Opposition, then he was received before the whole Church in the following manner. One of the two Ministers deputed came up into the Pulpit and preached a Sermon suitable to the Occasion, then he read the third Chapter of the first Epistle to *Timothy*, the first Chapter of that to *Titus*, and the fourth Chapter of the first Epistle of *St. Peter*; which done, he came down from the Pulpit, and standing in the Bar before the Pulpit, he prayed, laying his Hands on the Candidate's Head, who was humbly on his Knees before him: then the new Pastor arising, the two Deputies gave him before the whole Congregation the right hand of Fellowship.

But when there arose any Debate about the Candidate; and that he was not agreed on by the Majority, his Reception was superseded, and the whole Matter was referred unto the Colloquy or the Provincial Synod. And tho' the said Candidate was
then

then and there justified, yet he was not remanded back to that Church against their Will, nor was he forced to go against his own Will. *N. B.* That in the difficult Times the Discipline reduc'd the Number of the Examinators to three only, jointly with the Consistory of the Place (*a*).

Such was the Ecclesiastical Government of our Churches in *France*, and the excellent Rules whereby they were governed. Oh! had they never mixed their Temporal Concerns with the Glory of God; had they never attempted to make Religion subservient to political Views, and to mix the *Egyptian* Flesh-Pots with the Milk and Honey of *Canaan*! But Now I am to say a word of the political Assemblies of the Reformed. What occasioned these Assemblies was the natural Desire of Self-preservation. *Bartholomew's* Day, wherein Perfidiousness and Cruelty vied one with another for compassing the utter Ruin of the Reformed, obliged them to consult together about the properest means for diverting the impending Danger.

The first Assembly of that kind that I find recorded in our History, is that of *Realmont* in *November 1572*, where the Province of *Languedoc* and part of *Guienne* were parted into six Divisions, each under a Captain-General, each of whom had

(*a*) Read, *Quick's* Synodicon, his Preface. *La Roque*; Consermite de la Discipline Ecclesiast. des Protestants de *France* avec celle des Anciens.

had the Management of all Affairs in these Countries put under his Government, and a Council appointed to him, being bound to undertake nothing without their Advice, and the Consent of the Majority.

The Regulations made in that Assembly were published in thirty five Articles, some of which I shall insert here as they are related by *La Popeliniere*, Book 32. The first runs thus; That till God Almighty shall be pleased to change the King's Heart, and restore the State of *France* into good order; or to raise unto them some neighbouring Prince conspicuous for his Virtues, who will undertake to be the Deliverer of this poor distressed People: After having been sworn, they do elect and constitute such a one to be their Mayor or Captain in such a Place with power to command them in Matters relating to War for their own Defence and Preservation, as also in Matters relating to the Civil Government. Each Mayor was to have a Council appointed unto him, compos'd of twenty Persons besides himself, who were to be chosen without any Regard to their Birth, either out of the Nobility or Commoners, of the City or of the Country. Besides that Council which was to attend the Mayor constantly, another was to be had, composed of seventy five Persons elected as the former. Their Charge of both the Mayor and Counsellors lasted but a Year. By the 11th Article it

was enacted, that out of all these Chiefs or Mayors and Privy Counsellors, one should be elected to have the Supreme Command of their Forces in the Field, like a *Roman Dictator*: whom those of the Cities or Towns were to obey in every thing relating to their Charge. As to the Election of such a General, it is to be wished that it might be done as formerly in the Times of the ancient *Ionians, Dorians, Bæotians*, and other People of the twelve flourishing Cities of *Græcia*, who met together 12 times in a Year, for consulting about their common Welfare, or as the Council of the *Amphictions* in *Pausanias's* own Time. But whereas the Mayors and Councils of the Cities cannot easily meet together in a Place commodious and safe enough, every Mayor and Council for the present shall meet together in a Place of his own District, there to proceed to the Election of a General Chief: And each Mayor and Council shall send their Votes to the Mayor of that Place, which shall be appointed by common Consent for receiving the Votes of the Generality, and the said Mayor conjointly with his Council shall declare and notify by circular Letters him who has the Majority of Votes, who accordingly shall be declared duly elected in the General's Charge. By the 12th, a Council was appointed to the said General. By the 13th, five Lieutenant-Generals were appointed to succeed him by turns in case he should die,
reſign,

resign, or be deposed. By the 18th, the General himself might be arraigned, before the Mayor and Council of the Place of his Residence, for any Misdemeanor soever, and be obliged to answer the Charge ; and if found guilty, to be punished ; if not, the Plaintiff was to be punished with all the rigour of the Laws of his Country. By the 20th, the General and his Lieutenants were obliged to resign their Office into the Council's hands, and live as private Men as before, or accept of some inferiour Charge, if the Council thought proper to offer them any. By the 35th, which is the last, this Maxim for negotiating was peculiarly recommended, never to trust in those who for so many Times and by such enormous Treasons have violated and broken their Faith, and disturbed the publick Peace ; never to disarm as long as they shall persecute the Doctrine of Salvation, or those who profess it ; avoiding above all, the making any of those former Treaties that might serve only as so many Instruments for Massacres. But if at any time we come to some Agreement, let whatever is expedient to the Advancement of the Glory of God be provided first of all ; then the Rest and Safety of our distressed Churches, to the end that they should not be exposed any longer to the merciless Fury of the Wolves and Tygers. The other Articles regulated whatever concerned the Assess-

ment of the Cities and each Individual for the Maintenance of the said Government, the quartering of Soldiers, the Behaviour of their Chiefs, of what Denomination soever, the military Discipline, &c. all which Regulations were most wise, most holy, and would have much increased the glorious Fame of those for whom they had been framed, had they been strictly followed by them. Indeed these Regulations deserved very well to be inserted at their full Length in this History, had I had in due time *La Popelinieré's* History, which I received only in *August* last, having waited for it above two Years.

These Regulations were approv'd of by the next Assembly held at *Anduze*, and then by that held at *Millaud* in *December* 1573, and served for the future as the main Foundation of their political Government. That of *Millaud* added some new Articles, and whereas several other Provinces had acceded to the general Association since the first Assembly at *Realmont*; I found that there was in that Year twenty six General-ships under the Command of so many Chiefs. That they copied much after the Church's Government, having likewise four different Courts, *viz.* That of every City; the Diocesan, or several Corporations united together; the Provincial, and the National. The first met together once a Week, the second once a Month, the third once a Quarter, and the last twice a Year

Year: The first was compos'd of a Mayor or a Chief of any other Denomination, and his Council; the second, of the Deputies of the several Corporations in that Diocese; the third, of the Deputies of the Dioceſes; and that Aſſembly answered very well to the Provincial Synods: the fourth was compos'd of the Deputies of all the Provinces, for which purpose each Province held an Aſſembly, wherein the Nobility was ſummoned for electing one of their Body; and a Commoner, and beſides that, a Magiſtrate, to be the Representatives of the whole Generality to the National Aſſembly, otherwiſe called the States General of the Reformed Churches. The firſt Thing to be done in thoſe General Aſſemblies, was to elect a Preſident out of the Number of the Deputies; but the ſaid Preſident had not the Precedency above the Chiefs of the Generalities. All theſe Courts took cognizance of whatever was conducive to the Good and Welfare of their Party. And as in the National Synods, a Province was charged with the Care of appointing the Time when, and the Place where, the next Synod was to meet, and to ſend notice thereof to the other Provinces; ſo in the General States, a Province was likewiſe charged with the ſame Care for the next Aſſembly. That Order laſted till they had fixed upon a Protector, who ſummoned them as often as the Circumſtances of Times required it; that is, to the Year

1575, when the Duke of *Alençon* made his escape from Court; or rather to 1576, when the King of *Navarre* did the same. For though the Duke was acknowledged for Protector or Captain-General, by the Reformed and Politicians, nevertheless, upon a strict Inquiry, I don't find that he has ever acted in that Quality in any other Regard besides the receiving the Command of the Reformed Forces, which even remained almost unactive, and the procuring of the Treaty of Peace concluded in 1576. I have spoken already of the Protector-ship, what the Reformed meant by that Title, in the third Volume, Article CI. Page 296, &c. to which I refer the Reader. Before *Bartholomew's* Day, the Reformed had had Protectors, the Prince of *Condé*, and after his Death, the Prince of *Navarre*; but I find no Steps of these Political Assemblies I am now speaking of, and their Origin is intirely owing to the Treacheries of their Enemies, and the dreadful Massacre of that Day. For the rest, one must not imagine that they interfered at all with the Civil Government of the Cities or Provinces; no, the Assembly of *Millaud* had expressly forbidden it, at least as long as the Civil Magistrate or Governour of Provinces did not stray from the ancient Laws of the Realm, or acted not against the peculiar Rights and Privileges of the Provinces, or of the Cities (*b*).

For

(*b*) Popeliniere, Liv. xxxii. et xxxvi.

For a long time these were the only Political Assemblies, composed only of Lay-Men; but in the Year 1596, I found another sort settled, and that the National Synod of *Saumur* granted Liberty to the Ministers to be deputed to them, for which Reason they were called MIXT. When the King of *Navarre* came to the Crown of *France*, keeping the Title of Protector of the Reformed Churches, he retained likewise the Rights and Prerogatives annexed unto it, and no Political Assemblies, either Provincial or General, could be held for the future, without the Royal Licence. As to the Chambers which I have called in this Volume misparted, they were Courts composed of some Catholick and some Reformed Judges. We shall speak in its proper Place of the Chambers of the Edict, and others granted by *Henry IV.*

And now I have done with the Ecclesiastical and Political Government of the Reformed in *France*; I have been as full upon that Subject as the Nature of a Preface could allow me. To make an end, I shall warn the Reader that there is a Mistake in this Volume, Page 222 where I say that *Chiverny* was subrogated to *Biragues* as Chancellor of *France*, upon his resigning of the said Office in 1579; that is not true, *Biragues* was Chancellor to his Death, which happened in 1583, and

was then succeeded by *Chiverny* ; but in 1578 *Biragues* resigned the Seals, which were given to *Chiverny*. I crave the Reader's Forbearance for all other Inadvertencies, and beg of him to take notice of the following ERRATA. The next Volume compleats this History.



Errata.

Page 7, Line 16, *learned* read *taught*. p. 21. l. 34.
the Court himself r. *the Court for himself*. p. 23. l. 31.
instead of these Words, *then understanding*, &c. r. *having*
understood that the King was upon his journey to France, he
had written to him, &c. p. 26. l. 22, 23. *were altogether*
r. *were not altogether*. p. 35. l. 12. *Government* r. *Gover-*
nour. p. 54. l. 27. *Pignerolles* r. *Pignerol*. p. 58. l. 16.
fall r. *fell*. p. 62. l. 20. *relapsr* r. *relapse*. p. 66. l. 16.
retired r. *retiring*. p. 67. l. 10. *with* r. *against*. p. 134.
l. 27. after *Prince*, add, *of Condé*. p. 154. l. 27. *Prin-*
cesss r. *Princes*. p. 226. l. 35. *should* r. *shall*. p. 233. l. 5.
Pro-vence r. *Province*. p. 327. l. 20. *requisite* r. *exquisite*.
p. 329. l. 27. *put by his Father, &c.* r. *sent by his Father to*
the College, &c. p. 396. l. 27. *through Paris* r. *at Paris*.
p. 417. l. 27. after, *another Prince of the Blood*, add, *ought*
to be found. p. 434. l. 30. *Aix* r. *Acqs*. p. 439. l. 20.
his Subjects r. *their Subjects*. p. 440. l. 8. *have always*
r. *had always*. p. 494. l. 21. *St. John de Gely* r. *St.*
John of Angely. p. 517. the last Line, *De La Villette* r.
De La Valette. p. 548. l. 20. *besieged* r. *beset*.

N. B. Count of Chatillon and Count of Coligni is the same
person ; he went by these two Names.





T H E
C O N T E N T S
 O F T H E
S I X T H B O O K.

INTRODUCTION. *The Queen-Mother sends two Messengers to King Henry III. in Poland. She is desired to take upon her the Regency. She comes to the Louvre, with the Princes Prisoners. The Patents for her Regency are registered in Parliament. What Course she takes for the Government. She writes to the Parliaments and chief Magistrates of the Kingdom. She proposes a Suspension of Arms to the Rochellese, &c. Great Divisions amongst the Reformed, especially at Rochelle. Chenevert's Book condemned. Abbot Gadagne arrives at Rochelle. A Truce agreed upon. The Queen-Regent's Unfincerity. How Matters stood in Languedoc. The Parliament of Thoulouse opposes Damville. The Queen's Deputies Devices against that Lord. The Affairs of Dauphiné. Montgomery tried, condemn'd and executed. Montgomery's Son's Escape. Carentan surrenders upon honourable Terms. Charles IXth's Funeral. The Prince of Condé's Letters to the Confederates of Languedoc. His Manifesto. First Assembly of the Reformed at Milland. They elect the Prince of Condé for
 their*

their Chief upon certain Terms. War carried into Poitou, &c. Lady Bonneval sent by the Queen to the Rochellese. Several Assemblies held at Rochelle. La Boissiere sent by the Queen to Rochelle, and his Charge. What the Mayor's extraordinary Council was. La Boissiere's haughty Behaviour. Second Assembly at Millaud. Castres surprised and taken by the Reformed. The King arrives at Lyons. A short Account of his Journey. He alienates the People's Affections by his Behaviour. How the King's Council stood affected. War and Peace with the Reformed debated in it. War resolved upon. The King's first Letters Patent. He writes to the Rochellese. Brantome's Negotiations with them. He confers with La Nouë. Second Siege of Fontenay. Fruitless Attempt upon Marans, by La Nouë. Siege of Lusignan; which surrenders by Capitulation. Montluc made Marshal of France. The Duchess of Montmorancy comes to Court. Restitution of Pignerol, &c. to the Duke of Savoy. Livron, &c. summoned to surrender. The Prince Dauphin's Exploits in Dauphiné. He delivers the Command of the Army to Bellegarde. The Queen's Devices for ruining Damville. But without Success. An Attempt to poison him. St. Giles stormed and taken by the Confederates. How the King spent his Time at Avignon. Cardinal of Lorraine's Death. His further Character. The Princess of Condé's Death. The King intends to marry. He comes to his Camp before Livron. Siege of that Place, raised by the King's Orders. He proceeds to Rheims. The Duke of Ulez commands in Languedoc. Dissoluteness of the Confederates Army. The Association concluded at Nismes between the Reformed and the Politicians.

cians. The King arrives at Rheims, and is crowned and married. The Deputies of the Confederates arrive at Paris, and are admitted to the King's Audience. Their Petitions, Speeches, Conferences and Debates. The King's Concessions. They set out for their respective Provinces and Cities. The Confederates insist upon their first Demands. Divisions at Rochelle upon that Subject. The Queen's Artifices for increasing them, frustrated. Progress of the Confederates in Languedoc, &c. of Montbrun in Dauphiné. He is at last routed and taken Prisoner. He is tried, condemned and executed at Grenoble. His Character. Of Lady de Miraumont. The Isle of Rhé taken and re-taken the same Day. A Letter directed to the Count of Lude. A League of the Catholicks in Poitou. Besme the late Admiral's Murderer arrested. The Rochellese make very rich Prizes at Sea. The Duke of Alençon's Escape from Court. His Manifesto. Great Consternation at Court upon this. Divisions at Rochelle. The Prince of Condé petitions the Dyet of Ratisbonne. The Duke's Hypocrisy. The Queen-Mother runs after him. Thoré with some German Forces routed. A Truce concluded. The Duke attempts to alter the Government at Rochelle. He pretends a Plot to poison him. He writes to the Parliament of Paris. Prince of Condé enters the Kingdom with a German Army. The King of Navarre's Escape. A League in Vivarais. The Prince's Army joins the Duke of Alençon's. Conferences for Peace. Several Demands made to the King, by the chief of the Confederates. The King's Answer. The fifth Ediēt of Peace. Secret Articles. Montmorancy and Cossé acquitted, Outcries of the Guisians. Of the Catholick

tholick League. The Reformed ill-used in many Places. The King of Navarre abjures the Catholick Religion. He comes to Rochelle. The Prince of Condé comes to the said City. The Duke of Anjou writes to the Rochellese. La Boffiere comes to Rochelle. The Prince of Condé takes Possession of St. John of Angely. The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé confer together at Nerac. Prince Casimir sends some Deputies to Court. The King's Answer. The Prince of Condé's Demands. Bourdeaux denies Admittance to the King of Navarre. The Prince takes Possession of Brouage. He is admitted at Rochelle with great ado. His Speech and Complaints to the City's Council. Beginnings of the sixth Civil War. The King of Navarre's Comportments on this Occasion. His Letter to the Nobility of Guienne. The King's Summons for the general States at Blois. Opening of the same. The King's Speech. The Chancellor's Speech. Nullities against the States. Debates and Resolutions taken in them. The sixth Civil War. The sixth Edict of Peace. Secret Articles. Character of the King's Favourites. Of Villequier. Of Marshal de Bellegarde. Of Du Guesne. Of Chiverny. Of Joyeuse. Of La Valette. Of St. Luc. Of D'O. The ninth national Synod. Great Difficulties in the Execution of the Edict. Conferences at Nerac. The Duke of Anjou's second Escape. The Queen of Navarre's Reception at Bourdeaux. A Duel fought between the King's Minions. Sharp Remonstrances of the States of Burgundy to the King. The King institutes the Order of the Holy Ghost. Conclusion of the Conferences of Nerac. The Queen-Mother's Progress in the Southern Provinces. Bishop Montluc's Death and

and Character. Continuation of the Queen-Mother's Journey. Bellegarde's Attempts. The Duke of Montmorancy's Death and Character. Bellegarde's Conference with Les Diguieres and Death. Conference at Mazeres. The tenth national Synod. The Duke of Anjou's new Escape from Court. Assembly of the Clergy at Melun. The King takes the City of Geneva under his Protection. The seventh Civil War. Sad Condition of the Court of Navarre. La Fere surprised by the Prince of Condé. Cahors taken by the King of Navarre. The King raises three Armies. Many Cities and Provinces disapprove the War. Ediēt of Fleix. Some general Reflexions upon all the former Ediēts. The Coqueluche or Hooping-Cough and the Plague rage in the Kingdom. The Cordeliers Church at Paris destroyed by Fire. State of the Reformed in the Kingdom. Of Queen Margaret of Navarre. Of Du Pleſſis Mornay. The King insists upon the restoring of Maſs in Bearn. Du Pleſſis's Answer upon that Subject. The eleventh national Synod. A short Account of the Revolution of Portugal. The King of Navarre labours in vain to have the late Ediēt executed. He is invited to Court, but diverted from going. The twelfth national Synod. The King of Navarre negociates an Association with the Protestant Princes of Europe. De Segur is sent for that Purpose. His Instructions. The Success of his Negociation. The Eleētor of Cologne turns Protestant. The Duke of Anjou's Death. His Character. Affairs of the Low-Countries. The fatal Consequences of the Duke of Anjou's Death. Important Discoveries made by the Reformed to the King. The Duke of Eſpernon sent to the King of Navarre. Success of his Message. A
poli-

political Assembly of the Reformed held at Montauban. They send a Deputation to the King. Commotion of the Guisians thereupon. Treacheries of the King's Council. Weak Methods followed by the King. Belleville executed. Espernon raised to the General Colonelship of the Infantry. The States of the Low-Countries seek again the Protection of France. They sent a solemn Embassy for that Purpose to the King. True Causes of the War of the League. The King of Spain's Offers to the King of Navarre. Cardinal of Bourbon won by the Duke of Guise. That Duke's Artifices. Assembly at Joinville. Their Treaty. They make Preparations for War. Cardinal of Bourbon's Declaration. Measures of the Reformed Party. The Duke of Guise takes the Field. Provence rebels against the King. Exploits of both Parties. Conference with the Leaguers. Their Demands. The King of Navarre's Declaration. Edict of July against the Reformed. Secret Articles granted to the Leaguers. The Duke of Nevers renounces the League. The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé excommunicated by the Pope. Effects thereof. Union of the King of Navarre with the Duke of Montmorancy. The King's Discourse with the Cardinal of Guise. He sends an Embassy to the King of Navarre. The King of Navarre's Answer. A new Edict against the Reformed. Several Occurrences of the four last Months of this Year. The King puts six Armies on foot. The King of Navarre's great Perplexities. The Duke of Mayenne's Progress. Guise's Progress. Joyeuse's Success. Espernon's Success. Embassy of the Switzers and of the Protestant Princes of Germany. Conference between the Divines of the Augustan and those of Switzerland Confession.

sion. The King of Navarre's Success. The Count of Laval's, &c. Death. Conference of St. Brix. Mary Queen of Scotland Beheaded. Plots and Attempts of the Leaguers at Paris. The King's Supineness. Precautions of the King of Navarre. His Exploits. The Duke of Joyeuse's cruel Exploits. The King of Navarre routs the Rear of Joyeuse. The Count of Soissons joins the King of Navarre. Battle of Coutras. The German Auxiliary Army routed. A general political Assembly of the Reformed resolved upon. Les Diguieres Progress in Dauphiné. The Sorbonist Decision against Kings. Assembly of the Leaguers at Nancy. The King denies their Petition. Affairs of Sedan and Jametz. The Prince of Condé's Death. His own Consort charged with having procured his Death. She is tried, condemned and reprieved. And at last acquitted seven Years after by the Parliament of Paris. That Prince's Character. The Archbishop of Lyons declares for the League. What preceded the Barricades of Paris. Relation of that extraordinary Event. What followed it. The King's Flight from Paris. The King of Navarre's Deportment upon this Occasion. A sham Reconciliation between the King and the Leaguers. The King's Proposals to the King of Navarre. The Spanish Armada routed by the English. The Duke of Savoy seizes several Places in the Marquisate of Saluces. Union between La Valette and Les Diguieres. States of Blois. The Political Assembly of the Reformed held at Rochelle. The Duke and Cardinal of Guise executed at Blois. Their Character. Consequences of that Execution. The Queen-Mother's Death. Some Additions to her Character. The King's Supineness. He awakes at last and
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minds his Interest. His present Circumstances. He treats with the King of Navarre. The Treaty. The King of Navarre's Declarations. Interview of the two Kings. Bad and good Consequences of their Union. The two Kings march to besiege Paris. Sancy joins the Kings with his Auxiliaries. Great Generosity of that Lord. Paris besieged. The King murdered by a Monk. His Character. Sixtus V's Speech on this Occasion.





HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION,

AND OF THE

Reformed CHURCHES in *France*.

VOL. III. PART II.

BOOK VI.

THE Animosities between the contend-
ing Parties were rather increased than num, *June*
abated, by King Charles's Death ; 1574.
and the whole Kingdom was almost
one Field of Battle.

I.
Introduct.

The Lovers of Peace and of their Country had conceived great Hopes of the new King's Capacity ; for while he was Duke of *Anjou* he had shewed himself endowed with all those Qualifications which adorn the Throne, he had been successful in the Civil Wars and gained two considerable Battles at *Jarnac* and *Montcontour*, where he commanded in Person. He was thought wise, prudent, steady, sober, and moderate ; able, in a word, to put an end to the State's Troubles and Miseries.

But he was quite altered at his Return from *Poland* ; and it was not long before the great Opinion conceived of him quite vanished away. He had entirely given himself over to his Fa-

Interreg. *vourites, (or Minions, as he called them) who dis-*
June, honoured him by their impudent Behaviour, and
 1574. *obliged his best Friends and most faithful Ser-*
 Pope Gre- *vants to forsake him: He knew neither how to*
 gory XIII. *wage War, or to make Peace: He shewed him-*
 self timorous, irresolute and fickle; being despised
 by both Parties, he soon became the Object of
 their Hatred and Persecutions. The Kingdom
 fell into such Confusions and Miseries under his
 Reign, that the fundamental Laws of the State
 were trodden under foot, and the Throne was very
 near becoming a Prey to the first Usurper. In
 short, he fully verified King *Charles* his Brother's
 Saying of him, *That the great Hopes conceived of*
him, not only by the French, but likewise by Fo-
reigners, would be certainly frustrated; and that
he would be, thoroughly known, such as he was
whenever he should ascend the Throne (a). But
 that Prince's Character will be better known by
 his Actions during the whole Course of his
 Reign.

Before entering into the Particulars of it, it
 will be proper to consider what was done at
 Court, and in the Kingdom, during the *Queen-*
Mother's Regency for above three Months, from
 King *Charles's* Death on the 30th of May, to
 King *Henry's* Arrival into his Dominions on the
 5th of September in the same Year.

II. The very same Day that *Charles* died, the
The Queen *Queen-Mother* dispatched *Chemerault* in *Poland*,
sends two *to notify it to King Henry, and desire him to*
Messengers *come without any delay and take possession of*
to the King *the Crown, which was devolved unto him by*
of Poland. *Right of Nature, as well as by his Brother's*
Testament. She required likewise to send her in
all haste his Letters Patents confirming and rati-
fying the Regency of the Kingdom during his
 Absence,


Absence, which Charles had likewise intrusted her with by the said Testament; and lest some Accident or other should befall *Cbemerault* upon the Road (*he was subject to the Falling-Sickness*), she dispatched *Newvy* on the 1st of June, upon the same Errand, and both arrived at *Cracow* in a Fortnight's time.

On the last Day of May the Parliament met together at *Paris*, tho' it was an Holiday, and deputed some Presidents and Counsellors to the Castle of *Vincennes* to beseech the Queen to take upon her the Regency of the Kingdom during the King's Absence; and in the Evening of the same Day, the Provost of the Merchants and the Eschevins (*Sheriffs*) of *Paris*, with several Counsellors and notable Men of the said City, came upon the same Errand: the Queen received them graciously, and gave them a ready Satisfaction, by granting their Request.

On the 1st of June, the Queen with the Duke of *Alençon*, the King of *Navarre*, and the rest of the Court came to the *Louvre*; and the next Day she caused all the Gates and Entrances of it to be mured up, leaving only a Wicket open to one of the great Gates; there was a great Number of Archers within, and a Corps-de-Guard without: Nay, she caused the two Ends of *Louvre's* Street to be mured up. All this she did to persuade the People, that the Conspiracy which *La Molle* and *Coconnas* had suffered for last April, was not a fictitious one; and that she had still good Reasons for dreading the Consequences of it, and for providing for the Crown's Security, as well as for her own. (b)

As to the Duke of *Alençon* and the King of *Navarre*, tho' they were not kept close Prisoners

(b) L'Etoile, *Memoires pour Servir á l'Hist. de France*, Tom. I. p. 35.

Interreg. June, 1574. Pope Gregory XIII.  ners in a Chamber, they had Guards set upon them, their own Apartment's Windows were double grated, and they were not allowed to go abroad nor to stir any further in the Palace than the Maids of Honour's Apartment; where, by Catherine's Orders, they were kindly received at anytime.

V. On the 3d of June, the Parliament read and registered the Letters Patents, whereby she was constituted and appointed Regent of the Kingdom according to the late King's Declaration; and now she began to make use of her Talents for making herself sure of a Power and Authority whereof she was exceedingly greedy, and which she had been in danger to lose, had not King *Charles* died so soon.

VI. For that end, tho' she was very sensible, that the Honour and Glory of the King her Son and the whole Kingdom's Welfare required absolutely that she should bring Matters to some reasonable Terms and Agreement with the several Parties that divided the State, and to avoid by all possible means the renewing of the War, tho' every thing seemed to concur to so good an end, and that the People's Minds were much inclined to it; nevertheless, whereas she was no less sensible that by so doing, her Authority, which could not be easily supported but by Broils, Divisions and Confusions, would decline apace, and that she would be reduced by degrees to the governing of her own Household; therefore she thought that her best Course for keeping always her ground, was to intricate the Affairs in such a manner that nobody but herself could be able to clear them, and by these means to make herself necessary. That was her constant Method during the whole Course of this unhappy Reign, as long as she lived, to talk of Peace, when she had only Confusion and War in her Thoughts, to sow Di-

vision

vision amongst the great Men under a Shew of Interreg.
Justice, and to create Jealousies amongst the *June,*
Parties on pretence of courting one of them: *1574.*
But this will be better known by the Sequel. *Pope Gregory XIII.*

Now, as she was sensible that King Henry
could not arrive so soon as she desired, she fixed *VII.*
upon these two Devices in order to secure her *She writes*
Administration the best she could: 1^o. She wrote *to the Par-*
herself, and caused the Duke of *Alençon* and the *liaments,*
King of *Navarre* to do the same, to the Parlia- *and chief*
ments, Governors, and chief Magistrates all over *Magis-*
the Kingdom, to give them notice of the late *trates of*
King's Death, and of the Occasion thereof, in *the King-*
order to blot out of their minds the Suspicion *dom.*
of her having any hand in it, as it was rumoured;
and to let them know, that she had been intrust-
ed by her late Son's Will with the Regency of
the Kingdom, during his Successor's Absence;
and to require of them all a due Obedience to
the present Government, and to be careful in
their several Stations to administer Justice with-
out Partiality, and to preserve Peace and Tran-
quillity amongst the Subjects, Catholics, and
Reformed, &c, &c. And this she did with the
two Princes above-named.

2^o. She shewed forth an earnest Desire for *VIII.*
Peace, in order to wheedle the Reformed, espe- *She propo-*
cially those of *Poitou, Xaintonge, Angoumois, La* *ses a Suj-*
Rocheille, and Aulnix, that she might more easily *pension of*
fall upon them unawares, as she did. Her Rea- *Arms to*
sons for minding these Provinces more than the *the Rochel-*
other were, because as to *Normandy* it was almost *lese, &c.*
subdued; the Places which remained, such as
St. Lo, and *Carentan* could not hold out long,
and *Montgommery* was Prisoner at *Paris*; as to
Dauphiné, the Prince Dauphin *Francis* of *Bour-*
bon, Son to the Duke of *Montpensier*, was at the
Head of a strong Army, able to stop the Progress

Interreg. of *Montbrun*, and other Chiefs of the Reformed
June, in that Province. As to *Languedoc*, *Damville*
 1574. had not as yet declared himself openly; and the
Pope Gre- was not out of hopes of bringing him to Reason
gory XIII. by fair or foul means. As to *Guienne*, Admiral
 { *de Villars*, *La Valette*, and others of her Party
 gave her hopes of keeping that Province in awe
 with their Force. It was not the same with
Poitou, *Xaintonge*, &c. where the Reformed had
 of late obliged the Duke of *Montpensier* to raise
 the Siege of *Fontenai*: His Army was scattered
 into several Places, and as yet not strong enough
 for undertaking any considerable Enterprize; some
 time was required to get together these Troops,
 and to reinforce them with those of *Nor-*
mandy.

Therefore she sent Abbot *Gadagne* to *Rockelle*
 for treating of a Suspension of Arms with *La*
Nouë, for the Countries above-mentioned; but
 at the same time she ordered the Duke of *Mont-*
pensier to repair without delay to his Army, and
 to strengthen it with new Levies of Horse and
 Foot; and she sent *Gaspard* Count of *Schomberg*
 into *Switzerland*, with Orders to raise six or seven
 thousand Men, Horse and Foot.

IX. The Divisions amongst the Reformed in
France, and especially at *Rockelle*, where the
Great Di- Queen kept constantly some Pensioners, whose
visions a- chief Business was to create and foment Jealous-
mongst the ties between the Citizens and the Nobility:
Reformed. These Divisions, I say, and *La Nouë's* Good-na-
 ture, more than *Gadagne's* and others Eloquence,
 helped these Envoys to an happy Conclusion of
 their Negotiation; happy for them, I mean,
 but fatal to the Reformed of these Parts.

Especially *La Popeliniere* gives us the following Account
at Rockelle. of the Reformed's Dispositions at that time:
 The French, *says he*, were not only divided in

two Parties, but each Party was again subdivided into several others, and that Division was greater amongst the Reformed than amongst the Catholics, so far that they were in danger of seeing themselves consumed by that intestine Fire; especially at *Rockelle*, where the Disputes between the Nobility and the Citizens were carried to a great Heat, on account of the various Opinions concerning the Lawfulness of the War. There were many who thought, that King *Charles* being dead, they were in Conscience bound to lay down their Arms, at least till his Successor should have taken possession of the Crown, and had taken some Cognizance of the State of the Realm; but others opposed strongly that Opinion, and would not admit of any Delay. Learned by Experience, they thought, that their best way was to improve the present Opportunity without trusting any longer to the Court's Promises. And whereas the contrary Party was something terrified by the bad Success *Montgommery* had met in *Normandy*, and by the great Preparations which the Duke of *Montpensier* made; they opposed to that Dread the Success of their Brethren in *Dauphiné*, *Languedoc*, and other Parts, and the certain Hopes they had of speedy and large Succours which the Prince of *Condé* was assembling in *Germany*, upon the Credit of *Casimir*, Son to the Elector Palatine.

But for all that, many at *Rockelle* grew more and more uneasy about the War. Some of the topping Merchants, either seriously or otherwise, seemed much offended at so many Depredations done upon *Sea*, and complained loudly of it; saying, that such Ways and Means of waging War were neither honest nor lawful, and favoured of Piracy rather than any thing else, which could but end in the Ruin of many Traders. *Claudius*

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Interreg. *Huet*, one of the Sheriffs (Echevin) was at their
 June, Head; he presented a Petition subscribed by some
 1574. other Merchants, requiring that the Letters of
 Pope Gre- other Merchants, requiring that the Letters of
 gory XIII. Marque that had been granted should be repeal-
 ed, or at least limited and restrained into certain
 Bonds *. *William Texier*, alias *des Fragnez*,
 then Mayor of *Rochele*, willing to gratify the
 Sheriff, ordered that the Execution of these Let-
 ters should be superseded; adding however that
 this would not prejudice the Association sworn
 to with the Nobility, and would last only till
La Nouë's Coming.

That Lord being arrived, an Assembly was
 held at the Town-house on the 20th of June,
 wherein the Matter was debated a-new, the
 Mayor's Proceeding in that Affair without the
 Nobility's Concurrence was censured, and the
 Letters of Marque ordered to be granted as be-
 fore with some small Amendment. (c)

Chene - About this time happen'd a thing which was
vert's Book like to cause a general Combustion at *Rochele*.
condemn'd. Those who did not approve of the War, not con-
 tent with reviling the contrary Party, especially
 the Nobility, in their private Conversation,
 wherein Calumny itself was not spared, were so
 bold as to publish Pamphlets against that Party;
 amongst whom was a Minister, *Chenevert* by
 Name, a Man of a noble Extraction, learned,
 eloquent, and who by his great Services, espe-
 cially in the late Siege of *Rochele*, had much
 deserved from the Reformed in general, and
 was in great Credit in that City: that Gentle-
 man took it in his head to write upon the same;
 and

* It had been enacted at the Beginning of the third Civil
 War, to fit out some Ships at *Rochele* for cruising upon
 those Seas; and that the Prizes should go for the Expences
 of the War. See our 3d Vol. pag. 273.

(c) *La Popeliniere Hist. de France*, liv. 38. fol. 201—203.

and having shewn his Manuscript to some of the Malecontents, he sent it to the Printer by their Advice: half Part of his Work was published before the whole was finished, to the great Satisfaction of his Adherents; but to the great Mortification of many others, who being not able to see without Indignation that the Conduct and Management of their Chiefs, the Probity and Virtue whereof was conspicuous to every impartial Judge, should be bespattered in such a vile manner, gave them notice of it.

The Nobility, justly offended at this Chenevert's irregular Proceeding, required no less than to have him legally tryed, and exemplarily punished, according to his Demerits. To make short, *Chenevert* having surrender'd himself Prisoner of his own accord, by the Interposition of the Ministers his Colleagues, and the Mildness of *La Nouë* and other Chiefs, whom he had grievously offended, he was sentenced only to make an Acknowledgment of his Fault in presence of some Persons deputed for that purpose, his Manuscript and all the Copies already printed, were burnt or torn to pieces; and forasmuch that the Scandal had been publick, and to blot out of the People's Minds the sad Impressions *Chenevert's* Notions had made upon them, it was ordered, That his Recantation and Reparation should be published from the Pulpits in all the Churches of *Rochelle*, which was accordingly executed the next day (*d*).

Such were the *Rochelle* and the adjacent Countries Dispositions, when Abbot *Gadagne* arrived at *Rochelle*, with Letters of the *Queen-Regent*, the Duke of *Montpensier*, and *Strossy*, directed some to *La Nouë*, and others to the Inhabitants, whereby they were exhorted to come to

a

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X.
Abbot Gadagne arrives at Rochelle.

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a just Sense of their Duty and Allegiance, and not to disturb the Kingdom during the King's Absence, lest they should provoke him to deal with them with greater Severity than he was inclined to do. Great Promises were made likewise unto them, in case they would lay down their Arms, and submit themselves to the King's Pleasure.

The Abbot having produced his Credentials, he left no Stone unturned to persuade them to that Submission which the Queen required; but he found it too hard to succeed, every one complained of the Duke of *Alençon*, and the King of *Navarre's* Detention, and of the Marshals *Montmorancy* and *Cossé's* Captivity; therefore he saw plainly that it would be enough for him, if he could obtain a Truce for a few Months.

La Nouë judging of the Queen's Intentions by his own, as he was an upright Man, a true Patriot who bewailed the wretched Condition of the Kingdom, and tho' a strenuous and great Captain, was nevertheless intirely averse to Civil Wars; he thought that she was in earnest, as indeed nothing was more agreeable to Reason, than that at the first Coming of the King her Son, he should not find the Kingdom in such Confusions as his Predecessor had left it. Therefore a Conference was appointed for the 25th of June, according to *Thuanus*, or the 27th, according to *la Popeliniere*, between *Gadagne*, *Biron*, *Strozzi*, and *la Freseliere*, on one part, *la Nouë* and *Mirambeau*, on the other.

XI.

A Truce agreed upon.

After several Debates they agreed upon a Truce for two Months, to begin on the 1st of July to the 1st of September, which might be prolonged for that whole Month, if the King was so pleased; not only the above-mentioned Provinces, but all those that would enjoy the Benefit of the Truce upon

upon the Terms stipulated would be included in ^{Interreg.} it, by sending their Consent thereto, tho' it ^{June,} respected especially the former. They promised ^{1574.} to keep their Troops in their respective Garisons, ^{Pope Gre-} not allowing them the Liberty of going a ^{gory XIII.} plundering in the Country. In consideration whereof, the Queen promised to pay thirty-five thousand Livres a Month, which makes seventy thousand Livres for the two Months, according to la Popeliniere; but according to Thuanus, it was thirty-six thousand Livres a Month. It was likewise stipulated, that in case the first Payment should not be made upon the 25th of July next at *Rockelle* or *Fontenai*, the Treaty should be void; and to the end that the Reformed of these Parts should be able to maintain their Troops and keep them from making Incurfions in the Country, the Sum of ten thousand Livres was to be advanced to them upon the whole on the 1st of July, viz. Six thousand Livres for the Province of *Poitou*, two thousand for *Xaintonge*, and two thousand for *Angoumois*; and in case the said Sum of ten thousand Livres should not be paid down on the 2d of July, the said Reformed would be free to grant their Troops liberty of living upon the Country, to raise the Land-Tax and other ordinary Subsidies, which however should be deducted out of the thirty-five thousand Livres to be paid on the 25th of July; as well as what they were to receive in part of the ten thousand Livres, without, for all that, prejudicing the Truce. Few other Articles of less moment were inserted in the Treaty, which I shall not relate (*e*).

Now to show how far the Queen was in earnest, let us hear what she says herself in her own Letter to *la Mothe Fenelon*, French Ambassador

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ambassador in England, dated at Paris the 5th of July ; and before all let the Reader observe, 1. That from Rochelle to Paris there is above one hundred and fifty Leagues. 2. That the Suspension of Arms was to take place only the 1st of July. 3. That the Treaty was concluded late on the 27th of June. Now let us see what she says :

XII.
The Queen
Regent's in-
sincerity.

There is no news since my last, only that the Sieur de Biron and Abbot de Gadagne, being assembled with la Nouë and others of ROCHELLE, they have begun to draw some Articles for a Suspension of Arms ; but because, since that Suspension, they have surpris'd the small Town of CIVRAY, and have taken again LE BLANC in BERRY, and have seized upon a little Castle called CAMPAGNE ; out of all which Places however they have been expelled, as soon as they had entered into them : I hope, that no body will advise me to grant the said Suspension, and there is no likelihood of it : Inasmuch also, that my Cousin the Duke of Montpensier, who, besides his own Forces, shall be joined very soon by those of NORMANDY, with twelve or fifteen Cannons and abundance of Ammunitions, will, to be sure, force them speedily to leave the Field, and alter their Thoughts, &c. &c. (f)

True it is, that the Reformed in Poitou, Xaintonge, &c. did what the Queen charges them with, and even more than she complains of, as we shall say in its proper place ; but then it was her own fault, not having given to Montpensier the usual Orders in such cases for the March of his Troops, which annoyed all the Country whereby they pass'd : For God-sake, was the Suspension only meant for the Reformed ? were not

not the Royalists obliged to observe it, and to supersede all Acts of Hostilities, at least, till the contrary Party had violated in any respect one of the least Articles of the Treaty? It is very plain therefore, that the Catholicks were the Aggressors, since the very marching of their Troops from their Garisons to form an Army that was to act against them, was a manifest Infraction of an Article whereby the Rochellese, &c. obliged themselves to keep their Troops in the Garisons wherein they were then, not allowing them the liberty of stirring abroad; unless the Catholicks undermeant that such an Article only obliged the Reformed, and not themselves, which is an Absurdity. It is plain likewise, that the Queen had no mind at all to keep any Treaty soever, since she took occasion to open her real Intention, from what the Reformed had done one Day before, or at the furthest, the very first Day that the Suspension was to take place. If it was before, which is very likely, or else she could not have received so soon the news of it, the Pretence was intirely groundless: No body is obliged to perform a Treaty before the time stipulated. If it was the first Day, ought she not to suppose that these Garisons had not as yet received proper Orders from the Principals, who had not had time enough to send them into the several Places where they were obliged to send them? How doth she express so great a Satisfaction for what had happened, if she had treated with that Sincerity and Candour that becomes so well every Man, more especially Princes? I HOPE, says she, *that no body will advise me to grant the said Suspension.* Somebody had then advised her before, against her own Will; and she was glad now to have a pretence, how false soever, to do her own Will. We shall see presently

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XIII.
How Mat-
ters stood
in Langue-
doc.

fently what Success she had; we must at present consider how Matters stood in Languedoc, and the neighbouring Countries.

Heretofore *Damville* having got intelligence of the Queen's mischievous Designs against him, and that she had sent *St. Sulpice* and *Villeroy* on purpose to put them in execution; and that *Martinengo* was arrived at *Avignon* upon the same Errand, he accepted of the Offers tendered to him by *St. Romain* and *de Clausonne*, two of the Reformed Chiefs in that Province. However, thinking proper to dissemble a little longer, he was content for that time with making a Truce with them, which was published on the 29th of May (g).

XIV.
The Par-
liament of
Thoulouse
opposes
Damville.

But the Parliament of *Thoulouse*, diving into *Damville's* Designs, opposed him with all their Might; and by a Decree of the 19th of June, they forbid to publish or keep the said Truce in any Place of their Jurisdiction. Nevertheless upon the same Day, *Damville*, as Governour in Chief of the Province, appointed an Assembly of the States thereof for the 2d of July, to be held at *Montpelier*, where he resided. The said Parliament opposed again this Order, and by their Decree forbid all Cities, &c, &c. of their Jurisdiction to send any Representative in the said States; to which Decree, however, very little Regard was paid (b).

XV.
The
Queen's
Deputies
Devices
against
Damville.

Now *St. Sulpice* and *Villeroy* having received their last Orders from Court by *Martinengo*, and seeing that it was not in their power to arrest *Damville*, or to murder him, undertook to undermine his Authority, and attempted to deprive him of his Government; which they thought to compass the more easily that they were supported by the Duke of *Usez*, who had turned Catholick

tholick since *Bartholomew's Day*, the Count of *Interreg.*
Joyeuse Damville's Lieutenant, the Count of *June,*
Suze, the Cardinal of *Armagnac*, and several *1574.*
 other Lords and Gentlemen of the first Quality *Pope Gre-*
 in that Province, who were either *Damville's* *gory XIII.*
 Enemies, or Hunters after the Queen's Fa-
 vour (j).

At the same time they fought in *Dauphiné* XVI.
 with various Success; *Montbrun* had routed the *The Affairs*
Prince Dauphin's Vanguard at the Bridge of *of Dau-*
Royans, where four hundred Men of the Catholick *phiné.*
 Side were killed, and eight Pair of Colours taken;
 but being gone to *Die*, which he intended to sur-
 prise by *Escalado*, he was betrayed by *Glandage*,
 Son to the Governour of that Place, who, out of
 spite against his Father had fled to *Montbrun*.
 This young Gentleman, in order to make his
 peace with his Father, sent him notice of *Mont-*
brun's Designs; whereupon the said Governour
 put himself in so good Posture of Defence, that
Montbrun's Attempt was defeated with the Loss
 of many of his Men: From thence he came to
Loriol (i).

The *Prince Dauphin* besieged *Alez*, a small
 Town which he battered, and stormed it, but
 was repulsed with great Loss: He stormed it a
 second time, and the Garison being not strong
 enough to cope with him, retired into the Castle,
 wherein being surprized treacherously, and a Fire
 happening accidentally, part of them were con-
 sumed by the Flames, and the rest cast headlong
 upon the Rocks. Then the Prince marched to
Oste, but the Garison of that Place retired in the
 Night-time thro' some By-ways to *Livron*, a
 small Town in the Diocese of *Valence*, which the
 Prince besieged on the 23d of June; but by the
 brave Resistance of the Besieged and *Montbrun's*
 Diligence,

(j) *Ibid.*(i) *Ibid.*

Interreg. Diligence he was forced to raise the Siege eight
 June, Days after, and to send his harrassed Troops into
 1574- Garifon for a time. *Rochebude* got some Advan-
 Pope Gre- tages over the Catholicks in *Vivaretz*, where he
 gory XIII. took again *Vassaux*, put the Garifon to the
 Sword, and routed Captain *Laval* that came to
 their Relief. At the same time *Pierre Gourde*
 took by Composition *Chalençon*, and *St. Romain*
 seized by Intelligence upon the Town of *Nonnay*,
 the most considerable Place of the high *Vivaretz*;
 and having put in it a Governour of his own, he
 went back to *Nimes*. Such was the Posture of
 Affairs in the Southern Provinces of *France*,
 from whence we must come to Court, where the
 first thing that offers itself to our Consideration,
 is *Montgomery's* Tryal and hard Fate.

XVII. That unfortunate Lord having been brought
Montgom- to *Paris*, was tryed by Judges of the Queen's
mertry try'd own Appointment, who condemned him as guilty
condemn'd, of High Treason to be beheaded. Before he
and execu- was led to the Place of Execution, he was a
ted. second time put upon the Rack to force him to
 confess the late Admiral de Coligni's pretended
 Plot; but tho' he was most cruelly tortured, he
 underwent it with the greatest Constancy, with-
 out saying or doing any thing unworthy of him-
 self; then he was put upon a Cart, had his
 Hands tyed behind his Back, a Priest and the
 Executioner were on his Sides, and was carried
 thro' the Streets to the GREVE. He looked
 upon the People round about him with an un-
 daunted Countenance, and desired their Prayers
 for him; being arrived at the Place of Execu-
 tion, he came upon the Scaffold, and spake to
 the People to the following Purport:

“ It is impossible, that amongst such a vast
 “ Multitude of People there should not be some
 “ good and honest Men, unto them I direct my
 Speech,

“ Speech, and desire them to remember, that I
 “ don’t die for the Facts charged upon me.
 “ There can be but very few amongst you, who
 “ are ignorant of my involuntary Misfortune,
 “ when I wounded our King *Henry II.* for
 “ which I exiled myself; but really, I longed
 “ to see again my own Country, and improved
 “ all Opportunities to return into it, especially
 “ when those Opportunities were agreeable to
 “ my Conscience and Profession, but always
 “ without any Infidelity to my King; and here
 “ I think myself obliged to justify the Marshals
 “ Prisoners, (*Montmorancy* and *Cossé*) and do
 “ solemnly declare, that they never have been
 “ Complices with us in the late Insurrection, nor
 “ knew any thing of it. Now I do require two
 “ Things of you: 1. That you would let my
 “ Children know, that having been declared
 “ ignoble by the Sentence passed against me,
 “ I do ratify the same if they don’t shew a true
 “ noble Soul. 2. When you shall be asked,
 “ what *Montgomery* has been beheaded for,
 “ don’t say because of the Civil Wars, and that
 “ he had taken Arms against his Sovereign, and
 “ displayed English Colours upon a French
 “ Land, all these things would turn to the Praise
 “ of a vain man; but let me be a Companion to
 “ so many good Men old and young, and poor
 “ innocent Women, that have undergone Fire
 “ and Sword at this very same Place.”

Having done speaking, he went to the Post, and bid a last Farewel to *Fervaques*; and having made a fervent Prayer to God, his Head was sever’d and set upon a Pole, but taken off by the Queen’s Command, who had been present at the Execution.

So died on the 26th of June, *Gabriel* Count of *Montgomery*; during his Confinement and on his Trial, he always behaved himself like a

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June,

1574.

Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Archbishop of Narbonne,

Nobleman and a Christian; he could never listen to any thing said unto him by a *Jacobine*, contrary to his Religion; and refused to confess to *Vigor*, Archbishop of *Narbonne*, and to do any thing contrary to his Religion. He left nine Sons and two Daughters, that were declared ignoble; but were restored to their Titles, Dignities, Estates, &c. by the first Treaty of Peace. Thuanus owns, that he was condemned for gratifying the Revenge of a weak Princess, because he had been the Occasion of her Royal Husband's Death, tho' innocently; whereupon he makes the following Observation, That *whoever does any prejudice to his King, tho' he intends no harm to him, becomes guilty*. Now if we consider how that unfortunate Lord came to this tragical End, we can but own the Truth of the Saying, *Quos Jupiter perdere vult, prius dementat*; and indeed it is unconceivable, how he could accept of the Terms offered at *Domfront*, that he should remain Prisoner of War till the Pleasure of the Court should be known; tho' at the same time he was promised his Liberty immediately after the Courier's Return. Had he forgot already that tho' the Duke of *Nemours* had granted an honourable Capitulation to *Mazeres* and *Castelnau*, when they surrendered themselves to him at *Nozai*; *Francis* IId, or rather his Council, refused to ratify the Capitulation, and caused these two unfortunate Gentlemen to be beheaded, as Accomplices in the *Ambosian* Plot? How could he imagine, that the present Court would pay a greater regard to *Matignon's* Word and Promises, than the former had done to the Duke of *Nemours's*? Ought he not to consider, that besides the general Hatred the Court bear against all the Chiefs of the Reformed, there were three things which rendered him more odious than the rest,

viz.

viz. Henry II's Death, the Execution he had caused to be made at *Ortez* five Years before, and his late Insurrection, notwithstanding the Favours King *Charles* had granted him three or four Months before for selling or mortgaging his Estate; and several other considerable Concessions, mentioned in a private Treaty which he had concluded with his Majesty in January last, and which *Agricola* has collected in his new Additions to the Memoirs of *Castelnau-Mauvissiere*. All these Considerations were sufficient, methinks, to render him more cautious how he treated with his Enemies; they were so obvious, that *Columbieres*, who commanded in *St. Lo*, offered them unto him, when *Matignon* had brought him before that Place to solicit that brave Officer to surrender it by Capitulation; and told him at last in a Passion, *If Montgomery has been so cowardly as to chuse to be dragged through the Streets of Paris, and to end his Life by an ignominious Death, Columbieres will not do the same; he chuses to die honourably upon the Breach* (k).

De Lorges, eldest Son to the said Count, had been taken Prisoner of War with his Father; but he found means to make his escape, before he was brought to Paris; and after having happily passed through many Dangers, he arrived safe at *Rochelle* by the middle of July, where he was very comfortably received by his Father's Friends.

The same Day of *Montgomery's* Execution, the Town of *Carentan*, dreading the same Fate as *St. Lo*, which had been stormed and destroyed, *Colombieres* and one of his Sons having been killed upon the Breach as he desired, surrendered

Interreg.
June,
1574.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

*Montgom-
mery's
Son's Es-
cape.*

*Carentan
surrenders
upon ho-
nourable
Terms.*

C 2

without

(k) D'Aubigné Tom. II. Liv. 2. Ch. 8. Thuan. l'b. 58.
De l'Etoile Mem. pour Servir a l'Hist. de France, Tom. I.
La Popel. Liv. 38 & 39.

Interreg.
June,
1574.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

without Resistance upon honourable Terms, which were better kept than any before. *Guittery*, Commander thereof, was brought to the Queen, and after a long Conference with her Majesty, he was dismissed safe, and went into his own House, contrary to the Opinion of many, who thought that he would share some hard Fate: This was the last Town that the Reformed were possessed of in *Normandy*.

July.
XIX.
The late
King's Fu-
nerals.

On the 6th of July King *Henry's* Letters Patents, confirming and amplifying his Mother's Power and Authority, were read and registered in Parliament; and from the 8th to the 13th inclusively, were performed the late King's Funerals, after having laid in state for forty Days together.

XX.
The Prince
of Condé's
Letters.

About this time the Confederates of *Languedoc* received a Letter from the Prince of *Condé*, dated at *Heidelberg* the 1st of July; wherein, after having exalted their Constancy in the Defence of the CAUSE, he desired them to send the Money they had promised for the Levy of the Troops; assuring them, that as soon as he had received it they would march out to their Assistance under his Command.

His Mani-
festo.

Besides that, he published a Manifesto on the 12th of the same Month; whereby he called God, his Angels, and all the Princes and Potentates of the World to be Witnesses of the Purity and Sincerity of his Intentions; and accounted for the Reasons that moved him to take such a step, to wit, for obtaining a Redress of the manifold Grievances whereunder the Kingdom groaned. He exhibited the great Hardships which the Duke of *Alençon* and the King of *Navarre* laboured under, without the least Shadow of Reason or Justice; and said, that he and others, who had joined or should hereafter join them.

themselves with him, tho' of contrary Religion, had no other mind but that of providing for the publick Welfare, and their private Security, and of opposing with all their Might the Violence and Injustice of those who abused the King's Name and Authority, to the intolerable Oppression of his Majesty's most faithful Subjects (1).

Interreg.
July,
1574.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

An Assembly of the Reformed had been appointed at *Milbaud* in *Rouergues*, for the 10th of July; but the Deputies of Languedoc, Guienne, and Dauphiné, could not meet together at that Place before the 16th of the said Month: As to those of other Provinces that were dispersed on account of the War, some of them sent their Procuration, approving whatever should be resolved in that Assembly. Several Matters were debated, and several Regulations made concerning the Civil and the Military Government of the Provinces. Two Things especially took up the greatest part of their Time and Attention; 1. Upon what Terms they should league themselves with the Marshal *Damville*, and the Politicians. 2. What Answer they should return to the Prince of Condé's Letters.

XXI.
First As-
sembly of
Milbaud.

As to the first Article, many of the Deputies looked upon that Association as very advantageous to them; therefore they voted for it with this Proviso, that the Marshal should subscribe to some reasonable Terms that should be proffered to him: But several others dreaded the Consequences of such an Association, and gave good Reasons for their Fears, as for Example, that *Damville* should make use of it only to serve his turn, and obtain better terms from the Court himself. However the first carried the point, and the Association was resolved upon. As to those Deputies who said that they had no Instructions upon

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that

Interreg.

July,

1574.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

that Subject from their Principals, they were told that the Assembly would give them sufficient Certificate for their Discharge. Then they took into their consideration what Terms they ought to propose to the Marshal, but that was put off to another time, because the said Marshal's Consent for treating was requisite, which could not then be got; but they acknowledged him by a publick Instrument, as Governour of *Languedoc*, under the King's Authority, (for the Parliament of Thoulouse had been bold enough of late to divest him of that Title).

*They elect
the Prince
of Condé
for their
Chief.*

As to the Prince of *Condé*, the Articles of his Reception as Chief of the Confederates were drawn up on the 16th of July, the first Day of their Session. Amongst these Articles, the following were the principal: 1. That the Prince, whom they elected for their Captain-General, should take his oath before their Deputies the *Electors Palatine, Prince Casimir, &c.* that he would live and die in the Profession of the Reformed Religion, and promote the Kingdom of God to the utmost of his power; that he would procure the Restoration of the good Order, Discipline, and Police of the Kingdom, as well in the publick Administration of the Government, as in the private, and the Welfare of the Subjects of either Religion; that he would do his best endeavours for setting at liberty the Duke of *Alençon*, the King of *Navarre*, the Marshals of *Montmorancy* and *Cossé*; however if they were guilty of the pretended Plot against his late Majesty, he would take care to have them tryed by unexceptionable Judges; that he would endeavour to rescue the publick Administration out of the hands of Usurpers, (the Queen being not at all meant under that Name) which he would restore to the King when arrived in his Dominions,

minions, or to the Duke of *Alençon* in the King's Absence ; that at that time he would procure an Assembly of the General States of the Kingdom, for healing, if possible, the wretched State where-
under it groaned, &c.

Interreg.
July,
1574.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

2. That the Prince would undertake nothing without the Advice and Consent of a Council, of the said Assembly's own Appointment.

3. That considering the manifold Mischiefs and Enormities that arose from a false Notion of Power and Authority, they besought his Highness not to take amiss that they should exhort him to behave himself modestly, not like a Tyrant or a dreadful Prince, but like a Judge of *Israel*, appointed by God for governing and protecting his own People ; minding always his holy Laws, and reading them carefully and diligently, and causing them to be kept all the whole course of his Life, &c.

They transmitted these Articles to the Prince, who was then at *Basil*, where he was come to be nigher at hand for negociating in *Germany*, and receiving News from *Languedoc*. As to the Supply of Money, tho' they could not do as much as they wished, for want of Means, yet the Province of *Languedoc* sent him what they could afford ; then they adjourned themselves to the Month of August (*m*).

Several of the Politicians came to meet the Prince at *Basil* ; he travelled through *Switzerland*, and was honourably received every where ; then understanding that the King was upon his Journey to *France*, he wrote to him on the 22d of July ; he justified his own Conduct, and besought his Majesty not to take amiss what he had done in his own and his Party's Defence, hav-

C 4 ing

(*m*) La Popel. liv. 38. fol. 217—220. Thuan. lib. 58. pag. 13, 14.

Interreg.
July,
1574.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

ing been forced to it; that upon a thorough Examination his Majesty would find, that none of his Subjects were so well disposed to promote his own Glory and the Welfare of his Kingdom, as he himself, and those who had undertaken the same cause with him.

On the 18th of July, *la Nouë* and *Fontenay* youngest Brother of *Roban*, arrived at *Rockelle*, from *Lusignan* and *Fontenay*; where they had been in order to put those Places in a Posture of Defence, because it was certainly known that the Duke of Montpensier's Army, having been reinforced with the Troops of *Normandy*, were marching into *Poitou*, and had already crossed the *Loire*.

XXII.
War car-
ried in Poi-
tou, &c.

And indeed tho' a Truce had been agreed upon for the Provinces of *Poitou*, *Xaintonge*, *Angoulême*, and *la Rockelle*, and their District for two Months, as abovesaid, it lasted not two Days; *Poitou* was over-run with the Duke of Montpensier's Troops marching to the general Rendezvous of the Army, which committed great Disorders in their March; therefore the very first of July, the Day when the Suspension of Arms was to take place, they were set upon by the Garison of *Lusignan*; and at the same time, that of *Fontenay* made Incurfions to the very Gates of *Nantes*, and intirely routed five hundred Harquebusiers, and carried away two Standards.

In *Perigord*, *Langoiran*, Governour of *Perigueux*, routed two Companies of Foot; several other Acts of Hostility were committed on both Sides, whereupon the Queen ordered the Army, under the Command of the Duke of *Montpensier*, to march directly to *Saumur*, a very convenient Post for the Passage of the *Loire*, and other Rivers. The said Duke was joined there
by

by *Chavigny*, *Puygaillard*, *Bussy d'Amboise*, *Du Plessis Richlieu*, and other Captains in great Number; and having reviewed his Army, he found it ten thousand Men strong, besides eighteen Cannons: then on the 1st of August he encamped at *Monstreuil-Bellay*, and the next Day at *Ervall*.

Interreg.
July,
1574.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.
August.

He made great Progress in his March, and took *St. Maixent*, which the Reformed had abandoned; he had a mind to lay Siege to *Lusignan*, but having held a Council of War at *Vouillé*, he was advised to delay it for a while, and to march to *Fontenay*, not far from *Rochelle*, the taking whereof would prove a great Annoyance to this last City. While they were making the necessary Preparations for that Siege, he took the Castles of *la Forest-upon-Seure*, *Cherveux*, and *Aulnay*; from thence he marched to *Mesle*, and because *Tornacoupe*, Commander thereof, refused to surrender till the Cannon had been levelled, after the Reddition of the Place, he caused that Officer to be hanged, with twelve or fifteen of his stoutest Men. From thence he detached *Chavigny* with *Des Roches Baritaut*, to take possession of *Marans*, which the Reformed had abandoned because it was not fortified; wherefrom the Catholics infested much the *Rochellese*, and that Loss caused a general Consternation amongst them.

Mean-while the Queen feigning always a great Inclination to Peace, sent the Lady Bonnevall to *Rochelle*, to induce the Reformed Nobility, and the Citizens, to lay down their Arms, or at least to agree upon a Truce; being arrived on the 15th of August, she exhibited her Commission and the Articles proposed by the Queen.

XXIII.
Lady Bon-
nevall sent
by the
Queen to
the Rochel-
lese.

They

Interreg.

August,

1574.

Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

They returned a very dutiful and submissive Answer, thanking her Majesty for the Dispositions she shewed forth to ease the Subjects of his Majesty, and give them some rest; assuring, that their Will and Intention had always been to pay a willing and lawful Obedience to the King, to promote his own Glory and the Welfare of his Kingdom; that they were still of the same mind, and approved much of her Majesty's Intention of sending some Persons qualified, to confer and resolve about several Difficulties that had arisen since the late Troubles: Lastly, they besought her Majesty to send immediate Orders for the releasing of their Deputies to the Churches of *Languedoc*, who had been arrested notwithstanding the late King's Safe-Conduct. *They had been released of late, but the News thereof had not reached as yet to Rochelle.*

Lady *Bonneval* set out two Days after with that Answer, not without being much suspected that she was come upon some underhand Dealing with some Inhabitants; which Suspicions were altogether groundless, as appeared by some Letters of her own, which were intercepted and published.

During these Parleys a Party of *Montpensier's* Army made IncurSIONS in the Neighbourhood of *Rochelle*; they killed some People and took some others Prisoners; they came so near the City that it afforded occasion of suspecting some Intelligence.

XXIV.

Several
Assemblies
held at Ro-
chelle.

Whereupon a general Assembly was held at *St. Yon's* Church on the 19th of the same Month: *La Nouë* told them, that he had received notice from very good hands, that some of the Citizens held secret Correspondences with the Enemies, who would not venture to come so near the City and in such small Numbers, were they not sure

of

of their Friends; that it was necessary to watch narrowly over them, and not to be so far concerned for *Lusignan* and *Fontenay*, as to neglect their own Security; that the Designs of the Catholics upon those Places might be but a Feint for surprising *la Rochelle* unawares. Then it was proposed to expel from the City all suspected Persons. The Guards were doubled, and the Fortifications considerably increased.

Interreg.
August,
1574.
Pope Gregory XIII.

On the 23d of the same Month, another Assembly was held at the same place, on account of some Letters of the Prince of *Condé*, dated from *Straßbourg* the 12th of last June, which came by the way of *England*.

The Prince, after having praised their Zeal and Affection for the Common Cause, and exhorted them to persevere, desired them to send him a Supply of Money; and whereas the City of *Embsen* had promised to advance an hundred thousand Crowns, provided the *Rochellese* would engage themselves for that Sum, and that they would be content to take Salt or other Goods in Payment. These Letters having been read, the Assembly consented to the Propositions of the City of *Embsen*, and sent the proper Instrument to the Prince for that purpose, at *Neufchatel*; whereby however he could receive no Benefit, or very little, because this was a Year of such Scarcity of Salt and Wine, which is the only Trade of *Guienne*, that an hundred weight of Salt sold for two thousand Livres, which is twenty Livres *per* Pound, a prodigious thing (n)!

Five Days after *la Nouë* held another general Assembly at *Rochelle*, on account of the taking of *Marans*. After he had discoursed fully upon the present Occurrences, he upbraided them for
their

Interreg. their Murmurings, and the Jealousies they enter-
August, tained one against another; he complained of
 1574. false Brethren, who under a Shew of Religion
Pope Gre- and an affected Love of *Peace*, aimed at nothing
 gory XIII. else but to sow division between the Nobility
 and Citizens, which could but end to their utter
 Destruction; he complained likewise of the ill
 Usage which some Gentlemen had received
 from the Townsmen, having been refused Ad-
 mittance into the City, though they came from
 some publick Service: he said, that he had re-
 ceived intelligence from three several places,
 and by unsuspected Persons, that they kept
 two Deputies at *Paris*, with Instructions and
 full Powers for treating of a separate Peace with
 the Queen; which was a shameful thing, quite
 contrary to the Laws of Justice and Conscience,
 since they had sworn of late a strict Union with
 the Reformed Churches of the Kingdom. He
 warned them to beware of some Members of
 the *Mayor's* Council; he desired his Discharge
 from any publick Employment amongst them,
 and exhorted them to a strict Union and Con-
 cord amongst themselves.

Moved by that Speech, the Assembly declared
 unanimously, that the bad Counsellors ought to
 be removed and expelled the City, with other
 suspected Persons; that they acknowledged *la*
Nouë for their Chief, during the Prince of
 Condé's Absence; that they were ready to obey
 all his Commands, and besought him not to for-
 sake them. As to any private Treaty with the
 Queen, or as to any Deputy at Court, the Mayor
 and Council declared that they knew nothing of
 it, and that such a Report might be a Device
 of their Enemies for creating new Jeal-
 ousies amongst them; however, that it was
 neces-

necessary to look into the bottom of that Affair (o). Interreg.
August,
1574.

Now whereas it was publickly known, that the King would soon arrive in his own Kingdom, and that the Queen Regent was going to meet him at *Lyons*, that Princess thought proper to play her old tricks again, and to endeavour to break the Union between the Rochellese and the Reformed Churches of the Kingdom; for that end she sent *Brissson de la Boissiere* to *Rochelle*, with Letters for the Mayor, for the Presidents, Lieutenants, and other Chief Officers of the Town-house. Pope Gregory XIII.
XXV.
La Boissiere sent by the Queen to Rochelle.

La Boissiere arrived at *Fontenay le Comte*, and sent his Letters to *Rochelle* by a Trumpet on the 29th of August, the Drift whereof after bitter Complaints and repeated Exhortations to Submission, was to engage them to break their Union with the Reformed Churches; fair Promises, of many great Advantages they would reap thereby, were not spared, as a Reward of their Compliance. That Envoy wrote likewise to the Mayor in the same strain, and desired to have a Pass for coming to *Rochelle*, and confer with them about matters of great Moment, which the Queen had intrusted him with. And his Charge.

The Mayor and others, whom those Letters had been directed to, were not at all pleased with the Contents thereof; they took them as a Confirmation of *la Nouë's* Suspicions, concerning a Negotiation on foot unknown to the Nobility and to them; they mistrusted the Queen, having been so often deceived by her: Therefore they went to *la Nouë*, and desired his Advice, and what Answer they ought to return. That Lord declined to deliver his Opinion in private; but he told them, that he would not be deficient

Interreg.
August,
1574.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

cient to his Duty, whenever his Opinion should be publickly required. Whereupon the Mayor summoned an Assembly at *St. Yon's* Church, and the Letters being read, they were much surprized at the Queen's directing herself only to some Citizens of Rochelle, without mentioning the Nobility, with whom they were so strictly united: They looked upon those Letters as a Snare, and they unanimously agreed, that in a matter of so great Importance as a Treaty of Peace, the Queen ought to address herself not only unto them who were but a small part of the whole Body, but to the Prince of *Condé*, to the Judgment of whom they would readily submit; that they could nor would not do any thing in that respect, without the said Prince's Consent; and in his Absence, *la Nouë's*, whom they had appointed for the Prince's Lieutenant in these parts; and that it would be more honourable and glorious for them to die in the Defence of so just a Cause, than to do any thing contrary to the Association they had sworn to with the Nobility. Therefore they appointed another Assembly for the next Day, whereat *la Nouë* and the Nobility should be desired to be present.

The next Day the Assembly being convened, *Quairay*, a Nobleman of *Poitou*, having made some Remonstrances and Exhortations to Union and Concord in the Nobility's Name, told them, that the said Nobility desired to know of the Mayor and the People there assembled, whether they were willing to observe the Articles of the Association, and join their best Endeavours with their own, for repelling the Catholicks? He was answered in the Affirmative, by the Mayor and the People; then he proposed certain Articles, concerning not only the War, but also the Order and Police which the Nobility thought proper to be

be observed in the City, and amongst the Troops; ^{Interreg.} which Articles being read, were approved of. ^{August,} As to the Suspicions entertained against some of ^{1574.} the Mayor's Council, as they proved to be too ^{Pope Gre-} well grounded, it was resolved to depose those ^{gory XIII.} bad Counsellors, and to appoint some others in their stead; which was accordingly done, notwithstanding the Mayor's Oppositions.

It is worth observing, that such an extra- ^{XXVI.} ordinary Council had been appointed at *Rockelle* ^{What the} since the Beginning of the Civil Wars, for as- ^{Mayor's} sisting the Mayor in the Discharge of his Office. ^{extraordi-} It was composed of sixteen Persons, twelve of ^{nary Coun-} the City, *viz.* four Eschevins, (Sheriffs) four ^{cil was.} Peers, four Burgeſſes, with four Gentlemen elected by the Nobility: They took cognizance of all Causes, either Civil or Criminal, during the War; their Office lasted but three Months. But in this Assembly that Order was altered, and it was enacted, That they should continue as long as their Service should be necessary. It was likewise enacted, to raise two Companies more for the City's Guard; and that all the Reformed Refugees in the City should enlist themselves under the Captains of the Wards in order to do some service. So ended that Assembly, to the mutual Satisfaction of the Nobility and the Commons, at least outwardly.

La Boissiere came nearer the City on the 14th ^{September.} of September, willing to come in, but he was ^{XXVII.} ordered by the Mayor to stay without the ^{*La Boif-*} Gate of *Cognes*; whither *la Nouë* and the ^{*siere's*} said Mayor repaired, attended by some of the ^{*haughty*} most eminent Citizens. He spake unto them ^{*Behaviour*} very haughtily, calling them Rebels, Seditious, &c. whereat several were much provoked; then he desired to be admitted into the City, that he might deliver publickly his Message, which at last

Interreg. last was granted with much ado. The next Day
 September, at seven in the Morning he was conducted to
 1574. the Sheriff-house, where an Assembly having
 Pope Gre- been summoned, he opened his Commission in
 gory XIII. a set Speech, tending to persuade them to desist
 from the general League with the Reformed,
 and the Politicians; to mind their own Concerns,
 which, if they did, they would have their Grie-
 vances immediately redress'd, their Privileges
 confirmed, and even increased; and several o-
 ther such like stuff, very proper indeed to dazle
 the Eyes of any other People less wise and cau-
 tious than the *Rockellese*, who were taught by
 Experience. They persisted in their Resolution,
 and whereas *la Boissiere* produced no Credentials
 nor Instructions in Writing, they let him know
 that they were not obliged to believe a word of
 whatever he said; and that when he should pro-
 duce his Propositions in Writing, signed with
 the Queen's own Hand, or at least by one of the
 Secretaries of State, they would consider what An-
 swer they had to return. However, upon second
 thoughts, they set down their Answer in Wri-
 ting, which they delivered on the same day to
la Boissiere out of the City. That Answer was
 directed to her Majesty; they excused themselves
 for not having entered into any particulars with
 that Man, seeing that he had no Credentials
 signed by her Majesty, or one of the Secretaries
 of State: They complained loudly of his inso-
 lent Behaviour towards them, which he had car-
 ried so far, that had it not been out of respect to
 her Majesty, they would have punished him ac-
 cording to his Deserts. They declared, that if
 her Majesty desired sincerely the Peace of the
 Kingdom, she would be pleased to appoint some
 Person or Persons better qualified in every respect
 than *la Boissiere* was, for treating about that;
 and

and that in the mean while, the Duke of *Mont-pensier* should supersede all Hostilities. They wrote likewise to the said Duke, almost to the same purpose (p). I have thought proper to set down in a thread all these Occurrences at *la Rochelle*, that the Reader might know at once their Situation and Dispositions when the King arrived at *Lyons*. Now we must come back and see what was transacted at *Milbaud*, where the Deputies of the Churches, those of the Prince of *Condé*, and Marshal *Damville's*; and at last, those of *Rochelle*, met together in the Month of August, according to their own Adjournment.

Interreg.
September,
1574
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

La Popeliniere, and *le Fevre de Tillerolles*, had been deputed by the *Rochellese* to the Churches of *Languedoc* since May last, the first in the Nobility's, the second in the Commons Name, for to dispose them to hearken to some reasonable Agreement with the Court: the Queen had much approved of that step, and King Charles had granted them Passes and Safe-Conducts for two Months. They set out on the 28th of May, and notwithstanding their Passes, they were arrested at *Caussade* and brought to *Cahors*, where they were detained for above six Weeks, notwithstanding their Remonstrances to the States of *Quercy*; till at last they were set at liberty, by the Queen's Orders, and arrived safe at *Montauban*: From whence they proceeded with *Salignac de Terrides*, and other Deputies, to *Milbaud*, according to their Orders.

XXVIII.
Second As-
sembly at
Milbaud.

The principal Reason, which the *Rochellese* had for sending their Deputies to that Assembly, was to convince the Publick that tho' they had treated with the Queen's Agent, they intended not for all that to break their Union with the Churches; and in the mean time to try if they

V. III. PART II.

D

could

(p) Idem liv. 38. fol. 244—246. Thuan lib. 58.

Interreg. could induce them to enter into some Treaty
September, with the Court, for a general Pacification: Ac-
 1574. cordingly la Popeliniere being admitted into the
Prise Gre- Assembly explained his Charge, and in a very
gory XIII. fine Speech exhorted them to Peace, telling them
 that the Court was willing to grant any rea-
 sonable Terms, and intreated them to send their
 Deputies to the Queen.

But the Assembly was not of the same opinion with him, they considered wisely, that by sending their Deputies to Court in the present Circumstances, when they had every thing ready for a brave Resistance, would serve only to cool the Zeal of their Party, and to spin out in fruitless Negotiations a time which might be better employed in Action: So they thanked the Rochellese, and those of Poitou, by a Letter in the Name of the whole Assembly, and proceeded to the Dispatch of other Business.

They had received Letters from the Marshal *Damville*, dated at *Beaucaire* the 1st of August, whereby he assured them that he was resolved to undertake the Defence of the Kingdom, to oppose with all his Might the Usurpers of the King's Authority, and to retrieve the faithful Subjects of his Majesty, without exception as to Religion, from the intolerable Oppression, whereunder they groaned; therefore he desired them to send their Agent to him without delay, for settling the Articles of their Association.

They set then upon considering again what Articles they ought to propose, which having agreed upon, they sent them to the Marshal. It was stipulated by these Articles, that the Marshal should not alter any thing in the present State of the Reformed, as to their Civil or Military Government, and the Administration of Justice, without the Consent of a Council ap-
 pointed

pointed for him by the said Assembly, especial-
ly that he should not introduce the Exercise of
the Roman Religion in the Cities or Places held
by them ; that all the Members of that Council
should be Reformed ; that the Secretary of that
Council should be of the same Profession ; that his
own Secretary, or Secretaries, should be also Reformed ;
that the said Marshal should deliver into their
Hands some of the best Towns of his Govern-
ment, well stored with all Sorts of Ammunitions
for their own Security ; that he would furnish an
Arsenal at Nîme, with Artillery ; that no Go-
vernment or Garison should be put into those
Places but what should be of the Reformed
Religion, the free Profession whereof should be
allowed unto them, as it was in any other Place
already in their Possession ; and as to the Places in-
habited by Catholicks only, the Reformed should
enjoy therein the free publick Exercise of their
Religion, without any Molestation soever : That
the said Marshal should not suffer in his Army,
any Lewdness, Blasphemy, Cursing, and Swearing,
but would punish them severely ; that he would
resign his Power and Authority to a Prince of
the Blood, in case any one should offer himself
to undertake their Protection, as they had good
Reason to hope for (q).

Such were the Articles agreed upon by the
Marshal Damville, besides several others of less
moment, which I have not inserted here. What
Alterations Spite can make in a Man, and how
far it may carry him, that Lord is a great In-
stance thereof. We have seen him in the former
Reign as much imbittered against the Reformed,
as any body else, unjust and cruel in all his Pro-
ceedings against them ; now, without changing
his Principles as to Religion, he becomes their

D 2

Pro-

Interreg.
September,
1574.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Interreg. Protector, and undertakes their Defence, and
 September, that too upon such Terms as those just men-
 1574. tioned. This likewise affords us an Instance of
 Pope Gre- the Danger there is, for a Prince to put a power-
 gory XIII. ful Subject to a nonplus, without any just Pro-
 vocation.

If the House of *Montmorancy* had great Obligations to the Crown, the Crown had no less to the House of *Montmorancy*; their great Capacity, their Fidelity, their long Services, were proclaimed aloud throughout the Kingdom, for several Centuries together; and they could not see themselves supplanted by new Comers, (I mean the Guisians) without a just Indignation: But what provoked them the more, was, that the Court took party against them in the last Years of the late King's Reign; and that too so openly, and with such a violence, that they could not doubt but that their Ruin and utter Destruction was resolved; and that nothing was wanting but an Opportunity to compass it. We have seen in our last Vol. pag. 393, how narrowly they escaped the Massacre of Bartholomew's Day; wherein they would have been involved, had not the Marshal Duke of *Montmorancy*, Head of that Family, very prudently used the pretence of a Hunting-match, at his Country-Seat of *Chantilly*.

Since that time, the Queen ceased not to give proof of her ill Will against that House, till at last she persuaded the late King to arrest the Duke of *Montmorancy*, under the false pretence of a chimerical Plot against his Person and Government; and lucky was it for the said Duke, that his three Brethren were out of *Catherine's* Reach, but especially *Damville*, who was in his Government. She left no stone unturned to draw him to Court, but he was too prudent, and
 received

received every day too good Intelligence from ^{Interrog.} his Friends, for falling into her Snares ; there- ^{September,} fore despairing of ever compassing her ends by ^{1574.} these means, she betook herself to her old Flo- ^{Pope Gre-} rentine Tricks. She gave Orders either to ar- ^{gory XIII.} rest him in his own Government, or to kill him ; having miscarried in this, a young Musician was bribed, who introduced himself into his Family, and was taken in the fact when he was putting some poisoned Powder in a Dish of Meat ; he confessed in the Torture, that he had been bribed by the Court for perpetrating that Crime, and was publickly punished according to his Demerits. Notwithstanding all these Provocations, *Damville* was a long time before he took the Resolution of revenging the repeated Injuries done to his House, tho' strongly solicited to it. At first, he wrote to the late King a very submissive Letter, wherein he declared that he was ready to resign all his Dignities and Offices, and to be tryed by competent and impartial Judges ; he reiterated the same after the King's Death ; he wrote to his Successor *Henry* ; and now at this time, he would not publish his Declaration concerning his Association with the Reformed, till he had tryed once again whether he could mollify the King's Heart ; for which purpose he went to *Turin*, at the time we are now speaking of, to meet the King ; but he found that the Queen's Artifices and Hatred prevailed every where, which obliged him at last, much against his Will, to keep no further Measures with the Court. Was he so much in the wrong, considering his Quality and the Circumstances of Time ?

Let us return to our main Subject. After the breaking up of the Assembly at Milhau, (what Day of the Month I can't find out) ^{XXIX.} *Salignac de* ^{*Castres taken by the Reformed.*} *Terrides,*

Interreg. *Terrides*, with several other Gentlemen, in their
 September, way home, had notice of an Enterprize intend-
 1574. ed against the City of *Castres*; and his Assis-
 Pope Gre- tance being desired, he got together with all
 gory XIII. possible diligence 800 Harquebusiers and 200
 Horse, and surpriz'd that City, tho' the Gar-
 rison consisted of 334 Corsicans, two Companies
 of Harquebusiers Foreigners and two French;
 besides a great Quantity of Provisions and
 Ammunitions of all Sorts; and in a few Hours
 he was Master of it, with losing only twenty
 Men killed, and more wounded; the Catho-
 licks had 200 Men killed, and many wound-
 ed. He put a Garrison in it of his own; and
 that Success proved of vast Advantage to the
 Reformed for ever after (r).

XXX. The King arrived at *Lyons* from *Poland* on
 The King the 6th of September, after a Journey of about
 arrives at two Months and a half.
Lyons.

When he had received the welcome News of
 A short Ac- his Accession to the Crown of *France*, he con-
 count of his vened together his French Counsellors, to con-
 Journey. sider what was to be done in the present E-
 mergency: Whether it was more convenient to
 stay in *Poland* some time longer, till the Affairs
 of the Government had been settled, and the
 Consent of the Polish Nobility for his Return
 to *France* obtained? Or, whether it was not
 better for him to set out without taking leave?
 Tho' the first Opinion was most agreeable to
 the Rules of Justice and Honour, nevertheless
 the second prevailed as more agreeable to the
 King's Humour, who was loth to live with so
 great Restraint; and bore impatiently the Prin-
 cess of Condé and Lady Chateaufneuf's Absence,
 and was afraid lest he should be compelled to
 marry the Princess of *Poland*, the last of the *Ja-
 gellonian*

gellonian House, so much respected by the *Poles*, who was neither young nor fair. Besides that, his Inclinations to a soft voluptuous Life were much heated by *Villeguier's* Conversation. He was a voluptuous Man, and his Antipathy against the *Poles* was such, that he reckoned the six Months he had lived amongst them as a time of Penance.

Henry III.
1574.
Pope Gregory XIII.

The Resolution taken for departing clandestinely, was executed in the Night between the 18th and 19th of June, when the King set out with a very small Retinue; he came to *Peizna* on the Frontiers of *Austria*, and from thence to *Vienna*. His Flight put the Court and City of *Cracow* into the utmost Confusion and Uproar, and exposed the French he had left behind him to the most imminent Danger of becoming the Victims of the *Poles* Indignation; which however cooled itself by degrees, at the interposition of some Palatines and Castellans, whom *Henry* had won to his Interest.

When the Emperor had notice, that the King was upon his Frontiers, he sent two of his Sons *Matthias* and *Maximilian*, with a numerous Retinue to meet and conduct him to *Vienna*; and he himself went three Miles off the City to receive that Prince.

He stayed six Days in the Emperor's Court, during which time his Imperial Majesty entertained him with a Cordiality equal to his Magnificence. It is said, that a Match was proposed to him with his Sister-in-law, *Elizabeth*, Widow of King *Charles*; but that he put it off, till he knew his Mother's Opinion. What is very certain, is, That the Emperor advised him and entreated him earnestly to bring peace along with him into France, saying, That it was the only means for blotting out of the Minds of his Sub-

Henry III. 1574. Pope Gregory XIII.jects the bloody Remembrance of the Massacres, and for casting the Odium of them upon the late King's bad Counsellors. *Rodolphus* King of the Romans, and Archduke *Ernest*, attended him to the Frontiers of *Frioul*: He chose that Road not only for avoiding to pass upon the Elector *Palatine's* Territories, but also for gratifying his Curiosity of seeing the City of *Venice*.

Whatever Art and Magnificence could invent, was put in use by the *Venetians*, for doing honour to the greatest King in their Alliance. He was received as Sovereign in all the Towns and Cities of their Territories. Four Senators in Robes of red Velvet met him on the Borders of the Gulph, with as many Barges hung and covered with Velvet of the same Colour, and another for his own Person, all over painted with Gold and Azure, and hung with a Cloath of blue Silk embroidered with Gold: they brought him into the Island of *Moran*, renowned for its fine *Glass-Houses*, where he lay that Night. The next Day he went on board the *Bucentaur*, a large Ship, which serves only upon extraordinary Occasions, and some great Ceremonies: It was surrounded with a vast number of Gondola's; amongst others, there were two hundred less adorned with their rich Furniture, than with the Comeliness and transcending Beauty of the Ladies. The *Doge*, at the Landing in the City, tendered a Canopy, supported by six Procurators of *St. Mark*, whereunder his Majesty walked to the Palace prepared for his Reception.

During his Stay at *Venice*, the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Ferrara*, and *Mantua*, came to pay their respects unto him, and attended him every where. The Republick paid his Expences, and his Retinue's. While he was in their Territories, he was served
by

by an hundred young Gentlemen of the Prime Nobility. He went to the Senate to see the Balloting, he took his Seat above the Doge, and acted there as Sovereign, (with their own Consent however); then he went and admired the Arsenal, which was three Miles in Circumference. But the Ladies were the greatest Object of his Admiration; nay, he was so fond of the Courtesans, that he had occasion thereafter to curse their Courtesies all the days of his Life.

Henry III.
1574.
Pope Gregory XIII.

After nine Days of Inchantment (for so he called them) he took his leave of the Senate, and was attended by four Senators to *Rodigino*, the last Place belonging to the Republick on *Lombardy* Side: From thence he came to *Ferrara*, guarded by the Duke's Cavalry; two Days after he embarked upon the *Pô*, and came up to *Turin* through *Mantua*. Don Juan of Austria, Governor of the *Milanese*, paid him at *Cremona*, and in every other Place of his Government whereby he passed, the same Honour and Respect, as he would have done to the King of Spain.

He stayed at *Turin* eight or nine Days: *Margaret*, Duchess of *Savoy* his Aunt, one of the wisest Princesses of her time, gave him the same Counsel as the *Emperor* and the *Venetians* had done, concerning the Pacification of his Kingdom. The Marshal *Damville*, who was come thither upon the Duke of *Savoy's* Parole, was at first graciously received by his Majesty; nay, the Kindness and Affection which he had had formerly for him, kindled again to that degree, that he would have him to lie in his Bed-chamber; he listen'd to his Counsels, and seemed disposed to grant Peace to his Subjects, and to follow in every thing else the Marshal's Schemes. But the Queen, having had the Scent of it, dis-

patched

Henry III. patched *Chiverni* *, afterwards Chancellor of France, and *Fifes* Secretary of State, who, by their Subtilties destroyed whatever Impressions *Damville* had made upon his Mind; and overturned him to that degree, that the Marshal would certainly have been arrested, had it not been for the Intelligence the Duchess of *Savoy* got of the King her Nephew's Intentions, whereof she gave notice to *Damville*, who went away under a strong Guard which the Duke gave him to attend him to *Nice*, where his Gallies waited for him, and brought him safe into *Languedoc*; where he was no sooner arrived, than he vowed to see the King no more, but in Picture; and was as good as his word.

1574.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

The Duke and Duchess in their respectful Civilities and Caresses were something self-interested, and aimed at the Restitution of *Pignerol*, *Savigliano*, and *la Perouse*, which the King promised to do. He was accomponied as far as *Lyons* by the Duke's Troops, and he himself attended his Majesty to that Place, where he staid for some Days; but was obliged to depart, before he could obtain the Performance of the King's Promises, because he received the melancholy News of the Duchess's Death on the 14th of September.

The King having passed the Alps at *Mount Cenis*, arrived at *St. John of Morienne*; where he gave Audience to the Elector *Palatine's* Ambassador, who solicited him to a Peace with the Prince of *Condé*. From thence he proceeded thro' *Chambery*, to the Bridge of *Beauvaisin*, which separates *Savoy* from *France*; where he was

* *Chiverni* in his State-Memoirs, blaming the Counsel that was given to the King to continue the War, it seems that he was himself for Peace; however *la Popeliniere*, *Thuanus*, and after them *Mezeray* and *Varillas*, charge that Chancellor with the Fact.

was met in the Evening of the 5th of September Henry III. by the Duke of *Alençon* and the King of *Navarre*, who were graciously received and set at full liberty a few Hours after (*s*). The Queen-Mother had stopt at *Bourgoin*, where the King arrived early the next Day; and gave at that Place the Marshal's Staff to Bellegarde, one of his Favourites, according to his Promise, tho' now he was out of Favour. On the same Day he arrived at *Lyons*, and made his publick Entry with great Pomp, being preceded by *Mandelot*, Mayor of the City, with the Militia: He alighted at the Episcopal Palace, where he took his Lodgings (*t*).

His Behaviour at these Beginnings caused a great Alteration in the People's Minds; instead of that Hero inured to the Labours of *Mars*, they saw in their King but an Apprentice of *Venus*, who passed away his time shut up in his Closet with a few *Minions* in curling his Hairs, and inventing some new Modes and Fashions of Dress, &c. He seemed to be afraid to ride on horseback, or to shew himself in Publick; but he went upon the *Saône* shut up in a Barge, with his *Minions*; at Dinner instead of following the Custom of his Predecessors, who used to eat in Publick: His Table was surrounded with Ballusters, and very few were admitted to his Presence. After Dinner, he allowed less than an Hour to hear Petitions. His Favourites, tho' young Men of no Merit or Virtue, had free access to him at all times, while the Prime Nobility and those who had best deserved of the Crown for their faithful Services, were refused Admittance; by these means the Royal Majesty became contemptible by degrees, and the ancient Discipline

(*s*) Thuan. lib. 58. (*t*) Idem ibid. La Popeliniere, lib. 39.

Henry III. Discipline was forced to yield to Haughtiness
 1574. and Wantonness. To this we may add his mon-
 Pope Gre- strous Prodigality, to gratify which, the first
 gory XIII. Dignities either Civil or Military, were bought
 at an extravagant Price, of those who had de-
 servedly obtained them from his Predecessors,
 and bestowed upon unworthy Men (v).

The Nobility being much estranged by these first Beginnings, left the Court one after another; some for some private Offence, others out of publick Indignation, and others for fashion sake. The first who went away was the Count of *Nançay*, of the House of *la Chastres*, Colonel of the King's Guards, who had been in great favour with King Charles, not only for his Ancestors Sake, but for his own Merits: He was followed by the Brothers *D'Angennes Rambouillet*, and by a great Number of the first Nobility; so far, that the Court which at first was crouded, became suddenly like a Desert; whereat the Favourites and new Counsellors, who had a mind to rule at their own discretion, and without Controul, were much pleased (u).

XXXII. The first thing that came under the Council's
How the Consideration was, whether it was proper to
King's treat for a Peace with the Deputies of the Re-
Council formed that were expected every Day, or to
stood affected. proclaim War against them as Rebels? The matter was debated in the Queen's privy Council, and the Resolution taken to declare War before it was brought into the King's Council. Besides the Party of the *Guisians* who then bore sway at Court, because the King sided with them, and of the *Montmorancians*, who, tho' oppressed in their Chief, were still powerful enough; there were two other Parties which divided the

the Court, and consequently the Council; the one cried for Peace and the Reformation of the State above all things, while the other pursued eagerly the utter Destruction of the Reformed. Henry III.
1574.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.
Chancellor de l'Hospital had been in his Lifetime the head of the first, and *Paul de Foix*, *Christophorus de Thou* first President of *Paris*, *Christophorus du Harlay*, *Baptista du Mesnil*, and *Pibrac* had succeeded him in that Opinion. *Morvilliers*, Bishop of *Orleans*, was Head of the second, tho' in other respects an honest Man for the times, he was much addicted to new Superstitions; and following all the Motions of the Foreign Cabals, which having their Spring at *Madrid* and at *Rome*, made Religion subservient to the Ambition of these two Courts.

Such were the Dispositions and Inclinations of the King's Council, when they were summoned to deliver their Opinion upon the present posture of Affairs. Besides his Majesty and the Queen-Mother, there were present the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, the Dukes of *Guise* and of *Nemours*, the Bastard of *Angoulême*, the Marshal of *Retz*, the other Marshals then at Court, the King's Council, *Pibrac* excepted, because he was suspected. XXXIII.
*War and
Peace with
the Reformed
debated in the
King's
Council.*

After the usual Ceremonies, *Paul de Foix* being first asked his Opinion, he delivered it in a set Speech, which for the Solidity of Arguments, the Strength and Beauty of the Elocution can be paralleled with the best Orations of that kind in Antiquity: He set forth the Necessity of pacifying the Kingdom, of restoring it to a better State, the Facility of healing its Diseases by restoring the former Edicts to the Reformed, and strictly performing whatever should be granted them; and whereas he knew beforehand what Resolution the Court had taken already, he answered the Arguments of the contrary

Henry III. trary Party, that deserved to be taken notice of.
 1574. That great Man, always eager after the publick
 Pope Gre- Good, could not think that whatever he could
 gory XIII. say availed any thing for diverting the Fate of
 his Country, without being moved to Tears.

War re- Whereupon the nonsensical *Villiquier* laughed
solved up- at him, and speaking the second, because no
on. order was kept, he wantonly voted for a desperate War against the *Hugonots*: Whereas he was entirely sold to the Queen, and that most part of the Counsellors being sensible that his Discourse had much pleased her, they applauded it; whereupon the King and his Mother rose up, as it had been agreed amongst them: Just as if it had been enough for a matter of that Importance to have had it resolved between a few Persons, instead of debating it, and seriously perpending it in the King's extraordinary Council.

However, on the next Day, the King, for compleating the Farce, feigned that de Foix's strong Arguments had not been laid aside unconsidered; for that end he called the same Council at the same place, and declared, That if the Reformed Deputies came, they ought to be heard; and then to be told, That if they would lay down their Arms they should enjoy a Liberty of Conscience, but without any publick Exercise of Religion; if not, they would be persecuted by Force of Arms with the utmost Rigour.

At the very same time he sent Orders to the Duke of *Montpensier*, to renew the War in *Poitou*, without any further delay, as if there were no further hopes left for a Peace. He charged the Marshal of *Bellegarde* with the Direction of the War in *Dauphiné*, depriving thereby the Prince *Dauphin* of the Honour he had so well deserved; he did this less out of any hopes
 of

of Success, than because *Bellegarde* was suspected HenryIII.
at Court, and in a view of breaking his Union ^{1574.}
with the Marshal *Damville*, and likewise because *Pope Gre-*
a better Opportunity was wanting for exiling *gory XIII.*
him, at least for a time, from Court (y).

The King's first Letters Patents, dated at Lyons XXXIV.
the 10th of September, contained a Narration of *The King's*
the Friendship which had been between the late *first Letters*
King and himself, (*which however was very far*
from being such as he said) of his great Feats,
and Victories, of the Peace concluded before
Rochelle, of his Journey to *Poland*, whither
he would never have gone, had it not been
in hopes that the late King's Subjects would live
quietly and peaceably one with another. Then
he charged those who had renewed the Troubles,
without naming who they were; he assured all
his Subjects of his good Inclinations to their
Welfare, and abolished whatever was past, pro-
vided that they should lay down their Arms and
restore unto him all Cities, Towns, &c. then in
their Possession; and that every one should go
to his own House and live quietly; granting to
every one the liberty of sending or bringing
themselves their Complaints and Grievances unto
him, in order to be redressed, as it would be
thought just and reasonable. Lastly, he threat-
ned those Cities or Towns which would not o-
bey, without naming what Cities or Towns he
meant, nor mentioning a word of the Liberty
of Conscience for the Reformed, nor of the
Reformation of the State. This was one of the
corrupted Counsellor's Contrivance, on purpose
to foment the Fire of the Civil Wars, for ruling
at their discretion amidst the Confusions, and
forming and strengthening a third Party, under
which at last the King himself was crushed.

But

Henry III. But whereas they were sensible that they had declared their mind too openly in these first Patents, they thought proper to dissemble a little more in the second, of the 13th of October, and to alter their Style; for the King is made to say, That notwithstanding his great Preparations for War, he intended sincerely to pacify his Kingdom, forgiving whatever was past, and forbidding that no body should be forced or molested on account of his Religion. But these Letters had no better Success than the first, for as much as the Reformed were deprived by them of the free publick Exercise of their Religion; and that no mention was made either of a national Council, wherein their Ministers could be heard, or of the States-General, whereby the Administration of the Government could be reformed (z).

XXXV. Besides those Letters Patents, the King wrote in private to the Rochellese, and told them, that he granted them a Liberty of Conscience; but as to the publick Exercise he willeth, that it should be superseded for a time, and in the mean while they should lay down their Arms and restore the Towns and Places then in their Possession under his own Obedience.

XXXVI. He writes to the Rochellese. Besides those Letters Patents, the King wrote in private to the Rochellese, and told them, that he granted them a Liberty of Conscience; but as to the publick Exercise he willeth, that it should be superseded for a time, and in the mean while they should lay down their Arms and restore the Towns and Places then in their Possession under his own Obedience.

XXXVII. About the same time Abbot *Brantome* was arrived at *Brouage*, he had a Commission of the King for making some Overtures of a Peace; he assured the *Rochellese*, that the King was very much inclined to it, and we must believe that he spake truth, seeing how averse his Majesty was then from every thing that required some Application, or could divert him from his unlawful Pleasures: but then he left the Management of the publick Affairs to his Mother and her Ministers, who were no less averse from Peace than he was from War. *John de la Haye*, Lieutenant

nant of *Poitou*, attended *Brantome*; that Gentle-^{Henry III.} man, for some private Offence, feigned himself discontent, and to side with the Reformed, but ^{1574.} was no better than the Queen's Spy amongst ^{Pope Gre-} them; for whatever he could learn of their ^{gory XIII.} secret Designs, (and he was cunning enough for insinuating himself into their Confidence) he gave immediate Notice of it to her Majesty, whereby he had made great Progress into her Favour. But this Duplicity being at last known at Court, he shared a Fate suitable to his odious Character; for having been seized and killed in his own Castle, he was brought dead to *Poitiers*, and there beheaded publicly.

But to return, a Conference was appointed at *Angolen*, two Leagues from *Rockelle*, between *Brantome* the King's Deputy, and *la Nouë*, and some of the most eminent Merchants of that City; who told the Abbot, that they ought to wait for the Return of their Deputies to the King. They arrived three Days after, but brought nothing more from his Majesty, than what was contained in his last Letters, besides an additional Exhortation to hearken to the means of making a solid Peace; and for that end he allowed them the Liberty of sending their Deputies in *Germany*, to confer with the Prince of *Condé*, and their other Allies and Confederates, for which he offered Passes and Safe-conducts. To make an end with this Article, the *Kochel-* *lese* improving his Majesty's Offers, sent their Deputies to the Prince; but they were attended upon the Road, by *Roger* one of the King's Valets de Chambre, who spied all their Actions and Words, especially at *Paris*, where they were narrowly observed whether they received Money or Bills of Exchange for *Germany*,
V. III. PART II. E what

Henry III. what Sums, and for whom they received
 1574. them (a).
 Pope Gre-
 gory XIII.

Mean while the War was very hot in *Poitou*,
 the Duke of *Montpensier* besieged *Fontenai le*
 XXXVIII. *Comte*, on the 1st of September. *La Nouë* had
 Second repaired that Place, and added some new Works
Siege of in all haste, since the last Siege in May. The
Fontenai. Garison was 400 Men strong, under the Com-
 mand of *St. Stephen*, who was assisted by twenty
 Gentlemen that came in as *Voluntiers*; they
 had two Culverines, one Middle, and two Field-
 pieces. After two Assaults the Town was taken,
 both by Capitulation and Treachery; for while
 they were upon parleys, the Enemies entered
 by little and little, and when they were in a
 sufficient Number, they made themselves Masters
 of the place. *St. Stephen*, with about forty others
 were brought to *Montpensier*, and made Prisoners
 of War; the rest of the Garison came out un-
 armed, and were dismissed without any Accou-
 trements; the Town was plundered, *du Moulin*,
 one of the Ministers, was hanged by the Duke
 of *Montpensier*'s Orders, for revenging his own
 Chaplain *Babilot*'s Death, who had shared the
 same Fate some Weeks before, for his enormous
 Cruelties against the Reformed, into whose hands
 he fell at last. The Besiegers lost 250 Men, a-
 mongst whom was the young Marquis of *Salu-
 ces*; the Besieged 35, amongst whom were the
 Captains *Pierre Longue*, and *Champagné* (b).

XXXIX. *La Nouë*, during this Siege, attempted upon
Fruitless *Marans*, the Garrison whereof annoyed much
Attempt *Rochelle*, and the Country of *Aulnix*, consisting
upon Ma- of 82 Parishes; but he missed his aim for want
rans by la of a proper and speedy Assistance, and lost three
Nouë. Captains and some Soldiers.

At

(a) Recueil des choses memorables sous Henry III. La
 Popel. liv. 39. (b) Eid. ibid. Thuan. lib. 59.

At the later end of September, the Duke of *Montpensier* besieged *Lezignen*, commonly called *Lusignan*; which Town had given name to a most illustrious House, from which are descended so many Kings, Princes, and great Captains, so famous by their Wars in the Holy Land, and their Settlement at *Jerusalem*, and at last in *Cyprus*. That Town was situated on a high steep narrow Hill, and divided into the upper and lower Town; between which and the Citadel, there was a large Plain. Amongst other most ancient Monuments, there was the renowned Tower of *Mellusina*, so much celebrated by the ancient French Poets (c); *Chouppes* was Governour thereof, but the Viscount of *Roban* was willing to take upon him its Defence: He had with him 106 Noblemen or Gentlemen, and the Garison was 600 Men strong; they were but very indifferently provided with Ammunition and Provisions for holding a long Siege, they had but a small Quantity of Wine, Flesh, Wood, and other such things; and their Water-mills having been destroyed by the Cannon-Balls, they were put to a great stress, because their Hand-mills were not sufficient for all; they were forced during the Siege, which lasted about four Months, to feed upon Horses, Cats and Rats; but the great Capacity of the Chiefs, and the undaunted Resolution of the Soldiery, supplied the want of other things.

The Place and Citadel were battered with twenty-four Cannon, and almost laid in Ashes

Which surrenders by Capitulation.

E 2

(c) *Agricola*, in his Additions to the *Memoirs of Castelnau*, refutes the old Fable of that Tower having been built by *Mellusina* about 1200 Years ago, and shews forth that there has never been any Princess of that Name; and that that Tower was built by *Hugues II.* Lord of *Lesignem*, surnamed the Beloved, who lived about the middle of the tenth Century. *Agric. Addic. liv. vii. pag 648, and 743.*

Henry III. with above eight thousand Balls; at last being
 1574. not able to hold out any longer, and la Nouë
 Pope Gre- not in a Condition to relieve them, they capi-
 gory XIII. tulated; whereby the Viscount of *Roban*, the
 Nobility, Gentry, and Officers with him, were
 allowed to come out on horseback, with their
 Arms and Baggage; the Soldiery with their
 Arms, but their Matches put out, and their
 Colours folded were to be led safely to *Rochelle*,
 or at any other place not more than six Leagues
 distant from that City. The Ministers with their
 Family and Baggage were at liberty to retire into
 the same Place, and under the same Guard: the
 Ladies and other Refugees who had a mind to
 retire, were to be conducted to their own Habi-
 tation with safety; the Goods that had been
 forfeited to the King, were to be restored to their
 Owners; the Inhabitants who would remain in
 the Town, should be received into the Duke's
 Protection, without being molested upon any
 account whatsoever; the Artillery and all the
 Ammunitions were to remain in the Town, to be
 disposed of at the Duke's pleasure.

These Articles were well enough observed,
 because the Viscount of *Roban* had been careful
 to require Hostages from the Duke, which he
 sent to *Rochelle* till the whole should be per-
 formed. The Royalists lost 800 Men, besides
 many wounded; and the Besieged had 25 No-
 blemen or Gentlemen, and 200 Soldiers killed.
 The Duke, being Master of that place, solicited
 at Court to have it dismantled, the Citadel and
 Mellusina's Tower pulled down, &c. which be-
 ing granted, the Charge of it was given to
Chemeraud, who executed it punctually; so that
 one of the ancientest and most beautiful For-
 tresses in Europe, which had attracted *Charles*
the Vth's Admiration, became in an instant one
 heap

heap of ruins ; whereof however *Cbemeraud* knew how to make his profit, for building a fine House for himself two Leagues from *Lusignan* (d).

Henry II.
1574.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

We have left the Court at *Lyons*, where *Blaise of Montluc* came to pay his respects to the King, he was presented with a Marshal's Staff for his past Services ; but being required to take upon himself the Management of the War in *Guienne*, he declined it, on account of his great Age, and of the Wound he had received four Years before at the Siege of *Rabasteins*, which caused him great pains in his head ; the King insisting on it, he told his Majesty, that his Infirmities were of such a nature, that he was not all fit for such Services, because of a Rupture he laboured under (e). That Gentleman, tho' a great Enemy to the Reformed, acknowledges in his own Memoirs, that this War was very unnecessary, and that the King instead of pacifying every thing, as he could easily have done, suffered himself to be imposed upon by bad Counsellors (f).

XLI.
Montluc
made Mar-
shal of
France.

The Duke of *Montmorancy's* Lady came likewise to Court, to petition for her Husband : She appeared in a Mourning-Dress, with the Ladies and Maids of her Retinue. She was very kindly received by the King, who had been always very fond of her, for she was his Half-sister ; he took her up in his arms, when she fell down upon her knees before him ; and having intreated his Majesty, either to restore her Husband to his

XLII.
*The Duch-
ess of*
*Montmo-
rancy comes*
to Court.

E 3

Liberty,

(d) I give the preference to Brantome in this respect, before *la Popeliniere*, who pretends that the Duke dismantled *Lusignan*, &c. at the instance of those of *Poitiers* : Brantome is so full and positive upon that Subject, that we cannot doubt a minute, but that the Duke did it of his own accord. Brant. *Eloge du Duc de Montpensier*.

(e) Thuan. lib. 59. But it appears by *Montluc's* Mem. liv. vii. fol. 621, &c. that he was present at a Siege in *Guienne* after this.

(f) *Montluc's* Memoirs, *ibidem*.

Henry III.
1574.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Liberty, if he was not charged with any thing that could be made out against him, because his Health was much impaired by so long a Confinement, or to have him tryed by competent Judges if any Crime was laid to his Charge; his Majesty bid her to cheer up, that he would take care of her Petition. What was the more surprizing in this was, to see the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, whom every one knew to be the Author and Abettor of this Duke's Misfortunes, joining his Intreaties with the Duchess's to the same purpose. *Thuanus* observes, that he did it either out of hypocrisy, or because he was afraid lest the Duke being set at liberty, would revenge upon him the Injury done to himself. However, all the Courtiers there present, either out of Flattery, or being encouraged by the Cardinal's Example, followed it strivingly. The King was pleased well enough with these his Courtiers Instances in the Duke's Behalf, but said, that since he had been confined by the late King's Orders, he could not disapprove what had been done, without knowing first for what cause it had been done, whereof he would take cognizance as soon as possible (g).

XLIII.
*Restitution
of Pignerolles, &c.
to the
Duke of
Savoy.*

The next thing that was considered in the King's Council, was the Restitution of *Pignerolles*, *Saviglian*, and *la Perouse*, which the King had rashly promised to the Duke of *Savoy*. The Duke of *Nevers*, Governour of these Places, opposed that Restitution to the utmost of his power; he wrote against it, and his Reasons were maturely debated in the King's Presence: but tho' they were unanswerable, nevertheless his Majesty insisting upon his Promise, ordered the said Restitution to be made, and the Bastard of *Angoulême* was charged to execute it, having
first

first given to the Duke of Nevers an honourable Henry III.
 Discharge in such a manner and form as he him-^{1574.}
 self required, which was registered with his Pro-^{Pope Gre-}
 test in the Parliament of *Paris* and *Grenoble*,^{gory XIII.}
 and in several other Places, whereat the King
 was much displeased against the said Duke.
 This Restitution, far from increasing the Duke
 of *Savoy's* Friendship to the King his Nephew,
 served only to puff him the more: He and his
 Successor despised his Majesty, and were so un-
 grateful hereafter, as to side with the Leaguers
 against him (*b*).

Now the King intending to go to *Avignon*, XLIV.
 to be more at hand for observing *Damville* and *Livron, le*
Montbrun's Motions, sent an Herald at Arms to *Poussin, &c.*
Livron, le Poussin, and other Places along the ^{summoned}
Rhône, whose Garisons annoyed the whole Coun-^{to surren-}
 try round about, with Orders to lay down their
 Arms, and to surrender; but *Roche-gude* and *Pierre*
Gourde answered, that they were most humble and
 faithful Servants and Subjects to his Majesty,
 but since their Goods, Children, Lives, and
 Consciences lay at stake, they thought them-
 selves obliged to oppose, with all their Might,
 the Disturbers of the publick Peace, and to re-
 pel Force by Force. *Montbrun* answered almost
 the same to the King's Letter. They prepared
 every thing for their Defence, *St. Romain* came
 to their Assistance from *Languedoc*, with some
 Troops of Horse, and three Companies of Foot;
 and having surveyed the Places, he retired to
St. Privaiz to be ready at all events. A little
 after, the Garison of *Livron* surprized *Beau-*
mont, and cut to pieces some Companies of
Switzers in the King's Service.

E 4

The

(*b*) *Idem ibid.*

Henry III. The Prince *Dauphin's* Army was about eighteen thousand Men strong, he besieged *le Poussin* in the Month of October, he battered it by a continual Fire, then he stormed it; but was repulsed

^{1574.}
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

XLV. with so great a loss, that he was upon the point of raising the Siege, when on a sudden the Walls that were weak and had been much shaken by the Cannon, fell down of themselves; then the Besieged having neither time nor means for repairing them, by *St. Romain's* Advice they forsook the Place in the Night-time, with their Women, Children, and the Baggage that could be carried away, and retired to *St. Privatz* by some By-ways known only to themselves, and with so little Noise, that the Enemy could not imagine what was become of them. When they entered the Town the next Morning, they plundered or burnt whatever they could find, and left no House standing whole but one.

The Prince
Dauphin's
Exploits in
Dauphiné.

XLVI. That Success spread a dread all over the *Vivaretz*; several Places surrendered themselves to the Enemy; the Prince laid Siege to *St. Privatz*, but without Success. *St. Romain* being come to their Relief with some new Forces, obliged his Highness to raise it; and bearing impatiently that the Marshal of *Bellegarde* had been named to succeed him, he went back to *le Poussin*, where he delivered his Army to the said Marshal; who at first surprized several Castles, such as *la Grane*, *Loriol*, and *Roinac*, which had been abandoned by their Garison, as being too weak to withstand the Cannon (j).

XLVII. The King being upon the Road to *Avignon*, the Queen-Mother sent Monsieur *de Belloy* to the Marshal *Damville*, who was at *Montpelier*, with

The
Queen's
Devices
for ruining
Damville.

(j) Thuan. *ibid.* Popel. liv. 38. Recueil des choses Memor. sous Henry III. pag. 527, &c.

with Letters full of fine Compliments, and large Promises of Favour.

The Court seeing that the said Marshal, his Brethren *Meru* and *Thoré*, the Count of *Ventadour* his Brother-in-law, and his Nephew the Count of *Turenne*, had already assembled a large Body of Troops, judged that step necessary for breaking, if possible, his Association with the Reformed and Politicians ; and by their frequent Messages endeavoured to make him suspected by both.

1574.
Pope Gregory XIII.

But *Damville*, guessing their Designs, refused to give any private Audience to *Belloy*, and obliged him to deliver his Commission in the publick Assembly of the States of *Languedoc*, convened at that time at *Montpelier*, which was done accordingly. But whereas his Propositions were the same as the King's former Letters Patents, *Damville* answered, That his most earnest Desire and that of his Associates, was to see the Kingdom in peace ; which was absolutely necessary, if the King had a mind to avert its utter Ruin : That a lasting and solid Peace was not a thing so easily to be done, because those bad and corrupted Counsellors, who had advised the late King to break, in so odious a manner, his Edict of 1570, by the most cruel Massacre of 1572, were still near his Majesty, and managed every thing at their pleasure, abusing the King's Name and Authority for the Execution of their wicked Designs ; that such Counsellors were mortal Enemies to the French Nobility, especially to the House of *Montmorancy*. Lastly, he assured him of his, and his Associates sincere Affection and Desire for procuring the publick Welfare.

When he had done speaking, *St. Romain*, Governour of *Nimes*, whether he had been provoked by

Henry III. by *Belloy's* Answer and Threatnings, as *Thuanus*
 1574. says, or not, told him, Sir, I desire you to let
 Pope Gre- the King know, that it is too late to pretend to
 gory XIII. frighten us with Threatnings, since we have
 now less occasion to be afraid than ever before ;
 for besides past Experience, God be thanked,
 that out of three Enemies, whose Power seemed
 at first formidable unto us, there is but one re-
 maining who makes us afraid. One of them
 was King *Charles*, who dying prematurely, has
 experienced what it is to quarrel with God, and
 his own Church ; his Brother the Duke of *A-*
lençon is become our Friend through the Wicked-
 ness of our Enemies ; and only the third remains,
viz. the King himself : If he undertakes to wage
 War against God and his Church, he will fall at
 his own Cost ; how dreadful a thing it is to
 fall under God's Displeasure, and not to grow
 wiser by the sad Experience of others : Every
 one were surprized at this *St. Romain's* Bold-
 ness (i).

However the Queen thought proper to conceal
 it from the King, when she became acquainted
 with it, and to send back *Belloy* to the Marshal
 with the same Intention as before, to wit, to
 create Jealousies, and sow Dissensions amongst
 the Associates, but to no purpose ; at last, after
 several Messages to and fro, the Assembly agreed
 to send *Charvignac* and two others, for conferring
 with the King ; but they received no other An-
 swer than this, That his Majesty required that
 his Cities and Towns should be restored unto
 him without any Exception, and then he would
 grant peace to his Subjects.

But

(i) *Thuan. ibid.* Recueil des choses Memor. sous
 Henry III.

But at this time happened what we have mentioned before, concerning that young Man who attempted to poison *Damville*, whereby that Lord who was still irresolute, was entirely resolved. He had published a Manifesto about the Beginning of November, declaring the Reasons that obliged him to take up Arms, to wit, for the Maintenance of the Crown of France, the Protection of the Subjects of either Religion, and the Restoration of several Lords and Chief Officers of the Crown, that were unjustly detained or exiled, and generally for procuring the Welfare of the Kingdom, and to restore it to its former Dignity and Splendour; till by the Determination of a free general or national Council, and the Decision of the General States lawfully assembled, it should be provided. It is very likely that the States of *Languedoc* were then adjourned to *Nimes*, for January next, in order to put the last hand to the Association.

Henry III.
1574.
Pope Gregory XIII.
XLVIII.
An Attempt made to poison Damville.

The Marshal and the States being sensible, that the Court had a mind to lull them, and spin out the time, came to a contrary Resolution; they besieged, battered and stormed *St. Gilles*, a Town not far from *Avignon*; from whence they heard very plain the Artillery's Noise, without troubling themselves for going to relieve the Place. True it is, that the Royal Army was then before *Livron*, but there was yet Troops enough with the King, if the Court had not been plunged in Pleasures, or in extravagant Devotions, which served only to debase the Royal Majesty; for while his Armies were fighting in the Western and Southern Provinces, the King spent the Mornings and Noons like a *Sardanapalus*, and in the Evening he scourg'd himself publickly.

XLIX.
St. Gilles stormed and taken by the Confederates.

To

Henry III. To understand this, one must know, that amongst other Superstitions, whereof the City of ^{1574.} *Avignon*, belonging to the Pope, is full, there were three Fraternities of *Penitents*, distinguished one from another by the Colour of their Sack-cloths, white, grey, and black; that Habit covered them from the Head down to the Feet, they were girded with a Rope, and had but their Eyes and part of their Back uncovered; they walked bare-footed in Procession, with Links, and singing the MISERERE MEI, scourging themselves with a Discipline till Blood gushed out. The King joined himself with the white, thinking to ingratiate himself with the Court of *Rome*, by the Performance of such Acts of false Devotion; and assisted frequently at their Procession, especially at Christmas-Holidays. The Courtiers were not the only Persons that followed his Example, the Queen Mother herself and the Cardinal of *Lorraine* thought proper to do the same; the first with the black, and the other with the grey.

II. This cost very dear to the Cardinal, for walking in Procession bare-footed, and the Shoulders uncovered, in the Depth of a most severe Winter, he was taken ill and brought to his Apartment; but finding himself something better the next Day, he went to the Council, where they were debating about ways and means how to find Money for the King: Amongst other means that Prelate proposed to sell four hundred thousand Crowns of Church-Rents; whereupon the Deputy of the Clergy rose up in a passion, and upbraided the Cardinal with Ungratefulness to the Clergy of *France*, who were the Supporters of his Greatness and Fortune; that the Church was more molested by him, who seemed to be their Friend, than it ever had been by *Coligny* himself,

himself, their professed Enemy. At this the ^{Henry III.} Cardinal was inflamed; and whereas he was obliged to make some Dispatches, he sat down ^{1574. Pope Gregory XIII.} late in the Night writing himself, then he went to bed; but was immediately taken with a violent Fever, and fell into a delirium, of which he never recovered, and died in that Condition on the 23d of December, according to *Thuanus*; but on the 26th, according to others, in the 51st Year of his Age, being born the 24th of February, 1524.

Various have been the Opinions about the Causes of his Death: Some have said, that he had been poisoned with the Smell of a Link; others, with the Smell of a poisoned Purse full of Gold Medals, whereof he was very curious, sent to him by his natural Brother *Claudius de Guise*, Abbot of *Clugny*; others, by the Mildew, which is very dangerous at Avignon, not considering that it was in the midst of Winter, and that it froze very hard. The Cause which I have related, as I found it in my Author quoted underneath, seems to me the more natural; he caught cold in the Procession, was in disorder when he went to the Council, flew there into a violent passion, whereby, and by his sitting late at work, he heated his Blood, fell into a spotted Fever, and died (1).

He was a Man endowed with rare Qualities, *His Character.* of a great Wit, learned beyond his Condition, eloquent, fit for Business; but naturally fickle and vain, ambitious far beyond measure, proud and insolent in Prosperity, dejected to Baseness in Adversity. At first he seemed to incline to the *Lutheran* Reformation, and had promised the Duke of *Wirtemberg* to promote it to the utmost of his power; but after the Death of his

(1) Recueil des choses admirables arrivées sous Henry III.

Henry III. his Brother *Francis* Duke of *Guise*, he was quite altered, and became the most implacable Enemy the Reformed had. He feigned to be the Protector of the Ecclesiastical Order in *France*, but he was the Author of the Alienation of the Church-Rents; and he loaded the richest *Abbeys* with so many Pensions to Lay-men, that he was almost equally hated by the Roman Clergy, and by the Reformed, by the Lay-men and Ecclesiasticks, by the Country and the Court (*m*).

LII. The Princess of Condé was dead likewise since last October. Her exquisite Beauty and the rare Qualifications of her Soul, commanded the respect of all those who had the happiness to be acquainted with her; and had so well captivated the King's Affections, that it was confidently reported that he had a mind to marry her, and for that purpose to have her divorc'd from the Prince by the Pope's Authority, on pretence that he was an Heretick and a Relapser; and it was then publickly rumoured, that the Queen-Mother being afraid lest the King her Son should execute his Resolution, caused that Princess to be poisoned. However his Majesty was so much affected with her Death, that he could nor would not be comforted for several Weeks.

LIII. After the Cardinal's Death, the King resolved to marry with *Louisa*, Daughter to the Count of *Vaudemont*, youngest Brother to the Duke of *Lorraine*; a Princess of an exquisite Beauty, but intirely given up to Devotion, and taking very little notice of any thing else. He had seen her the Year before passing thro' *Nancy*, in his way to *Poland*, and had been smitten with her Beauty; but for his own Mother's sake, lest the House of *Guise*, especially the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, should improve that Opportunity for raising

raising himself to the same Degree of Power and Authority, as in *Francis II*'s time, he had laid aside the Thoughts of marrying her; nay, he had consented to a Match with *Elizabeth*, Princess of *Sweden*, Sister to King *John*, and had sent about six Weeks before, Secretary *Pinar*, to the Court of *Stockholm*, for demanding that Princess. *Pinar* had executed his Commission with all the Success he could wish for, King *John* having readily consented to the Match. But now the Obstacle of the Cardinal being removed, Henry's Affections for the Countess of *Vaudemont* were kindled again, and the Queen-Mother approving of it, *Bouricq* was dispatched to *Sweden*, for recalling *Pinar*; and had Orders to take the Court of *Nancy* in his way, and to acquaint the Duke of *Lorraine* with the King's Intention to marry with his Niece, as soon as he should be arrived at *Rheims*, for performing the Ceremony of his Inauguration. Accordingly *Pinar* having desired his Audience of Leave, endeavoured to excuse his Master the best that he could; but his Arguments were so frivolous and impertinent, that he was in great danger as to his Person, and at last was dismissed with Scorn. Princess *Elizabeth* was married seven Years after with *Christophle*, Son to *Albert* Duke of *Mecklenbourg* (n).

Henry set out from *Avignon* on the 13th of January, and came to his Camp before *Livron*, in his way to *Rheims*.

Livron was besieged since the middle of December, by Marshal *de Bellegarde*, with an Army of about twelve thousand Men, Horse and Foot, and twenty-two large Cannons. *Roeffes*, Son-in-law to *Montbrun*, commanded in the Place, and had with him no more than four hundred Men; but

Henry III.
1574.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

LIV.
The King
comes to
his Camp
before Li-
vron.

Siege of
Livron.

(n) Idem ibid.

Henry III. but all stout and courageous, with a single small
 1575. Field-piece. The Besieged made two Sallies upon
 Pope Gre- the Enemies at their Approach, one in the Day,
 gory XIII. the other in the Night-time, which were very suc-
 cessful. The Besiegers levelled their Cannons
 and battered the Town at three different Places
 all at once, beginning on the 21st of the Month
 together to the 23d inclusively, and fired eleven
 hundred Bullets, whereby they made a Breach of
 six hundred Paces. Not satisfied with this, the
 Marshal caused the Cannon to be levelled in an-
 other Place; and on the 25th he began to batter
 again, and fired fourteen hundred Bullets: He
 took possession of the Ditch, and covered his
 Soldiers with Pent-houses. *Montbrun* having
 sent a Supply of an hundred Men, only fourteen
 could enter into the Place, the rest were forced
 to go back. The Besieged were so far from
 being disheartened at such large Breaches, and
 the Success of their Enemies, that on the con-
 trary at the very minute they were assailed the
 next Day being the 26th of December, they set
 up a Pole with a Horse-shoe, a Mittan, and a
 Cat tied to it, whereby they meant this, Marshal,
 a Cat is not taken without Mittans; the word
 MARESCHAL, in French, signifying a Black-
 smith and an Officer of an Army. The Place
 was furiously stormed, as just now said, at two
 different Places, and escalated at another all at
 once; but the Besieged, Men, Women, Girls,
 and Boys, withstood it with such an undaunted
 Courage, that the Enemies were repulsed with
 great Loss; *Roesfes*, and two Captains with se-
 veral Soldiers were killed on the Besieged side.
La Haye, a young Gentleman of 23 Years old,
 succeeded to *Roesfes*, to the great Joy of the
 Soldiers, and performed Wonders. The Battery
 began to play again on the 1st of January, and
 continued

continued till the 7th; and the Marshal caused Henry III. the Tower to be undermined, but was disappointed by a Counter-mine. On the 8th they were stormed a second time, at three several Places at once; but the Assailers were repulsed in the same manner as the first. On the 9th and 10th the Battery ceased playing, and the Besieged repaired chearfully the Breaches in several Places; and were so merry, that they caused a Woman to sit down at the highest Place of the Town, with a Distaf by her Side. In the Night of the 11th, they received a Supply of fifty-two Men; and the next Day the Count of *Gayasso*, an Italian Colonel of the *Switzers*, being out of the Camp, was met by a Party of *Monibrun's*, and killed upon the spot, with some of his Men. As to the *Piemontese* Troops that were in the Camp, they were taken with a sickness which destroyed many of them.

His Majesty understanding these ill Successes, came into the Camp, as above said, and commanded to raise the Siege. A new Negotiation for a general Peace was begun, intended only for disarming the Reformed, at least for relaxing their Courage. The King was the more inclined to it, that *Aiguemortes*, a considerable Sea-port on the *Mediterranean*, had been surpris'd and taken by the Reformed, on the 12th of this Month; and that *Damville* had published his last Declaration at *Nimes*, upon that very same Day.

He stayed but few Hours in the Camp, and caused a Testoon (an old French Silver Coin, of about two Shillings and six-pence Value) to be given to each Soldier. The Besieged having notice that the King was so near, fired several Vollies of Harquebusses in the Camp, then they fell a-hooting and crying at the King and Queen-Mother, tho' their Officers endeavoured

Henry III.
1575.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Henry III. to restrain them; *Ho! say they, What are you*
 1575. *come here for, you Murderers? Did you think to*
 Pope Gre- *cut our Throats in our Beds, as you did the late*
 gory XIII. *Admiral's? Bring us here your Minions trimmed,*
 curled, and perfumed; let them come and pay a
 visit to our Wives, they will learn at their own
 cost how hard it is to have to deal with them.
 This they repeated several times in the King's
 Hearing, who was heartily vexed at it; but he
 was no more that Duke of *Anjou*, whose heroical
 Virtues commanded Respect every where, but a
 Prince run into Idleness, and all manner of Dis-
 soluteness; or rather, he was no more the great
 and virtuous *Carnavalet's* Pupil, but the base
Villequier's slavish Disciple.

As the Army was retired, the Besieged made two
 Sallies upon them, one that very Night, and the
 other the next Morning, and killed many *Swit-*
zers and *Piemontese* that were in the Rear; nay,
 the Women themselves fell upon the sick and
 wounded, and killed many.

The Army was disbanded, what remained of
 the *Piemontese* went back into their own Country;
 the *Dauphinese*, ashamed for their bad Success,
 dispersed themselves in several Places; some
 Troops of *Reisters* followed the Count of *Retz*,
 in *Provence*; and the rest with the *Switzers* were
 put under the Command of the Duke of *Uzez*,
 to carry the War in *Languedoc* (o); mean while the
 King proceeded on his Journey to *Rheims* for
 his Coronation.

Who pro-
 ceeds to
Rheims.

LV.
 The Duke
 of *Uzez*
 commands
 the Royal
 Army in
Languedoc.

The Prince of *Condé* was still at *Basil*, sur-
 rounded with Spies, that sent notice to Court of
 whatever they could learn. The Duke of
Uzez, with twenty-two Companies of *Switzers*,
 and some Troops of Horse, French and German,
 came

(o) Recueil des choses memor. sous Henry III. Thuan.
 lib. 60. pag. 83, 84.

came into *Languedoc*, where he was joined by some other Forces of that Country, and of *Vivarez*. He had professed the Reformed Religion for a long while, till Bartholomew Day's Massacre; and in all the former Civil Wars he had sided with the Reformed, and undertook their Defence with great Success: But, out of spite against *Damville*, he had taken party with the Court, and declared openly that his Intention was only to wage War with that Marshal, promising the Reformed to make their Appointment with the King, if they would only break their Union with the Politicians. It is even said, that at this time he went not to Mass, and that he kept a Minister with him. Be it as it will, it was very strange to see on one hand the Protector of the Reformed at the Head of the Catholick Party, fighting against them; and on the other, the great Persecutor of the Reformed, armed now for their Defence and fighting against the Catholicks: That shews, that amongst the Great, Religion is but a meer pretence for gratifying their Ambition, and other Passions. The Duke of *Usez* got but very little by his Change; and indeed the Court gave him such destructive Commission, only in order to compass his own Ruin: We have spoken of him in our former Volume, under the Name of Count of *Crussol*.

The King's Retreat restored the Affairs of the Reformed in *Languedoc*, but the Dissoluteness and strange Scandals of the Politicians mixed amongst them, smothered intirely what little Sense of Piety and Virtue was left in them; and Marshal *Damville* was forgetful of the Articles stipulated with him in the Association's-Contract. However, he gave fair words to the Ministers, and others of the Reformed Religion, that came to make Representations upon that Subject; but

Henry III.
1574.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

LVI.
Dissolute-
ness of the
Confede-
rates Army.

Henry III. for all that the Dissoluteness increased a-pace,
 1575. Plundering, Robbing, and other Licentiousness
 Pope Gre- were very rife. The Marshal suffered himself
 gory XIII. to be intirely managed by one of his Secretaries,
 { *Charretier* by Name, a profligate Man, and the
 most dangerous amongst the Politicians. After
 the taking of *Aiguemortes*, the said Marshal
 made an Enterprize upon *Beziers*; and took
 about ninety Boroughs and Villages in the ad-
 jacent Parts. On the other hand, the Duke of
Ufèz entered the Territories of that City, in
 full hopes that the Inhabitants, who were his
 Vassals, would surrender it to him: He took St.
Ferreol, a small Town in the Neighbourhood;
 from whence he annoyed much those of *Ufèz*.
 These Things happened in the Month of Ja-
 nuary (p).

LVII. All this while the States of Languedoc were
The Affo- assembled at *Nimes*; and after having maturely
ciation con- considered of their Association, they came to a
cluded at Conclusion of it, and signed the Articles on the
Nimes. 10th of February, 1575. It cannot be denied,
 that the Government which they settled amongst
 themselves favour'd much of the Republican. E-
 very thing concerning Religion, Police, Admini-
 stration of Justice, Magistrates, military Discipline,
 Liberty of Trade, Taxes and Money, were re-
 gulated. It is true, that the Remembrance of
 the late cruel Massacres, and the bad Administra-
 tion of those who were now at the Helm of Af-
 fairs, seemed to render such an Association neces-
 sary, tho' of a very pernicious Example; how-
 ever it was no less destructive to those who had
 fought so eagerly for it, as to the Publick; and
 ended at last to the great Detriment of the Re-
 formed (q).

The

(p) Recueil des choses Mem. sous Henry III. (q) Thuan.
 lib. 60. pag. 84. La Popelin. liv. 39. fol. 282—284.

The King arrived safe at *Rheims*, contrary to what *Varillas*, and *de la Hode* a late Historian, have written, that he was like to be assassinated upon the Road, had not the Plot been discovered by *Fervagues*, one of the Accomplices. No mention of such a Plot is made by any Historian of those Days, that I have read of. *Margaret*, Queen of *Navarre*, that accompanied the King her Brother in that Journey, says not a word of it in her Memoirs.

Henry III.
1574.
Pope Gregory XIII.
LVIII.
The King's Arrival at Rheims.

Le Guast, who had succeeded to *Bellegarde* in the King's Favour, had been sent before to the Duke of *Lorraine*, for treating about the Marriage of his Niece, the Princess of *Vaudemont*; and *Chiverni* was sent after him for passing the Contract, and presenting that Princess with Jewels to a great Value. At his Arrival at *Rheims* the King met the Duke and Duchess of *Lorraine*, the Count of *Vaudemont*, with the Princess his Daughter, *Antonia* of *Bourbon*, Mother to the late Duke of *Guise*, and Cardinal of *Lorraine*, a Princess of near eighty Years of Age, and several Lords and Gentlemen that were come to be present at the King's Coronation and Marriage.

On the 15th of *February* he was crowned by *Lewis*, Cardinal of *Guise*, the See of *Rheims* being still vacant by the Death of the Cardinal of *Lorraine*; we cannot say that he was crowned with the usual Ceremonies, since they forgot to sing the *TE DEUM*, which was taken for a bad Omen of the future Reign. On the 16th the Marriage Ceremony was performed at the same Place. After several Days spent in Diversions &c. the King having been at *St. Maclou*, for Devotion-sake, and for obtaining by Fasting and Prayer the Gift of curing the Evil, arrived with the whole Court at *Paris*.

He is crowned and married.

Henry III. We have said above, that the King had granted the Reformed and Politicians leave for sending their Deputies to the Prince of *Condé*, for conferring with him about the Articles where-

^{1574.}
Pope Gregory XIII.

LIX.
The Deputies of the Confederates arrive at Paris.

upon a solid and lasting Peace could be settled in the Kingdom. In pursuance whereof, the Deputies of Marshal *Damville*, *Languedoc*, *Rockelle*, *Guienne*, *Provence*, and *Dauphiné*, met together with the Prince and his Council at *Basil*, and agreed upon the Articles which they were to present to his Majesty, and which being drawn in the Form of a Petition; they set out from *Basil* on the 22d of March, and arrived at *Paris* on the 5th of April, and were admitted to the King's Audience on the 11th.

They are admitted to the King's Audience.

Their Petition.

After the usual Ceremonies they presented their Petition, which contained ninety-two Articles, in the Name of the Prince of *Condé*, Lords, Gentlemen, and others of the Reformed Religion; and in the Name of the Marshal *Damville*, Lords, Gentlemen, and others Catholics, confederated with them: By that Petition they required a free publick Exercise of the Reformed Religion all over the Kingdom without any Exception of Place or Places. New Chambers erected in the Parliaments, composed half of Reformed, half of Catholics, for administering Justice without Partiality in Civil or Criminal Cases. An exemplary Punishment of the Authors and Abettors of Massacres. A Diminution of Taxes and Imposts. A free Assembly of the General States. A full Security for the Observation of whatever they required; and many other things, which indeed were too high or unreasonable.

Speeches.

D'Arennes made a long Speech to the King in the Prince's Name, whereto his Majesty was pleased to return a most gracious Answer. After that

that, the Envoy, directing his Speech to the Queen-Mother, intreated her to make use of her best Endeavours to procure a solid and lasting Peace to his Majesty's Subjects. Then the King having received the Petitions, ordered the Deputies to withdraw into his Anti-chamber ; and having perused them with his Council, they were called in again ; and his Majesty told them, that he had caused the Articles of the Petition to be read before him, and that he was much surprized to find that they carried their Pretensions so high, and that they had been so bold as to present such Articles, especially considering that they could not be ignorant of them ; whereby it was plain, that they were not so solicitous for the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom, as they would feign to be. Then he asked them, whether they had nothing else to propose ?

Whereupon *d'Arennes* besought most humbly his Majesty, not to take amiss the Contents of the Petitions, and to let them know what Articles had offended him ; because it might be, that they had been inserted by Mistake, or Inadvertency. Whereto the King replied, that amongst others, the first was intolerable. It runneth thus :

That his Majesty would be pleased, that a free, general, and publick Exercise of the Reformed Religion, should be allowed throughout his whole Kingdom, Countries, Lands, and Lordships under his Obedience and Protection, even in the *Messine* Country, Government of *Metz* and *Verdun*, Marquisate of *Saluces*, Country of *Dombes* and *Barrois*, according to the Confession of Faith, which had been formerly presented to the late King, by the Reformed Churches of *France* ; and that too without any Modification or Exception of Places, Times and Persons, to

Henry III.
1574.
Pope Gregory XIII.

Henry III. the end that Sermons and Prayers should be made freely and publickly, the Psalms sung even in the Shops, in the Goals, and in the Fields; that they could be assembled by the Tolling of Bells, administer Baptism and the Holy Supper, marry, visit the Sick, bury their Dead in full Day-light, and in the usual Places; that they might have Schools and publick Lessons, print and sell all Books written on religious Matters, hold Consistories, Colloques, and Synods National and Provincial; execute their Discipline; collect Money for the Poor, and for the Necessities of the Churches; and generally whatever concerned the full free Exercise of their Religion, as it was done in the Countries where it was established by Law; with several other Clauses inserted in that Article, which I do omit on purpose.

*And De-
bates.*

D'Arennes humbly besought his Majesty to appoint some Commissaries for examining that and other Articles with them; whereupon after some further Debates upon the said Article, the King named three Members of his Privy Council; and it must be observed, that Chancellor *Biragues* and the Marshal of *Retz*, had been excepted against by the Deputies; and consequently by the King's Favour, they were never admitted in any of their Conferences. The next Day the Deputies conferred with *Morvilliers*, Bishop of *Orleans*, and the two others, which the King had appointed; the first Article, and the others, were again debated with great heat. By one of the Articles they required, that the Authors, Counsellors and Abettors of Massacres, especially the *Parisian*, should be called to an account, and severely and exemplarily punished; whereat the whole Court were exasperated, and that Article being

being insisted upon, they grew less inclined to Henry III. Peace.

While they were upon these Debates, arrived ^{1574.} Pope Gregory XIII. at *Paris* the Embassadors of the *Switz Cantons*, that came to congratulate the King on his happy Accession to the Crown; and at the same time to intreat his Majesty to pacify his Kingdom, by all means. Queen *Elizabeth* insisted likewise upon the same, both by her Letters, and by her Embassadors; as did also the Duke of *Savoy*.

At last, after a Fortnight's time spent in Debates and Altercations between the Deputies and the King's Council, his Majesty declared to the first, by *Fizes* Secretary of State, that he would grant the Reformed eight Towns in *Languedoc*, of his own chusing; six in *Guienne*, whereof *Montauban* and *Rochele* would be reckon'd for two; and two in *Dauphiné*, wherein they should enjoy the free Exercise of the Reformed Religion, provided they should restore unto him all other Towns, whereof they were in possession, in the same Condition as they were before the War. As to the Administration of Justice, his Majesty let them know, that he would appoint four new Counsellors of the Reformed Religion, which should be joined with sixteen others of the Parliament, to make up together a Court wherein their Law-suits should be finally decided. That the same Number of Counsellors, part of whom to be of the Reformed Religion, should be appointed at *Montpelier*. That they might challenge four Counsellors in every Parliament of the Kingdom, without being obliged to give any Reason for it.

The Deputies desired a Copy of these Concessions, but were refused; whereupon they declared that their Principals would not be satisfied with

Henry III. with Words only. Upon the Remonstrances they made the next Day, about the Articles of the first Declaration, another was drawn up; whereby the King granted the Reformed to live every where in his own Dominions, without being molested for any thing concerning their Conscience, provided they should behave themselves modestly and peaceably, according to the Edicts. That they might have the free Exercise of their Religion in all Cities and Places held by them, *Montpelier, Castres, Aiguemortes, and Beaucaire* excepted. That the Lords of a Tenure by Knights Service, should have the same Liberty for themselves, their Household and Vassals, in their Jurisdictions. That the Gentlemen who had no such Tenure, should have that Liberty only for their own Family, provided their Houses should not be situated in Towns or Suburbs, nor ten Leagues round about *Paris*, nor two Leagues from other Places where the Court should reside (r).

They set out for their respective Provinces and Cities.

The Deputies being again denied a Copy of the Concessions, they asked Leave of the King to return to their Principals, to impart to them what Answer his Majesty had been pleased to give, and to receive new Instructions; which Request was at last granted, on condition that they should return; and they set out from *Paris* on the 16th of May, leaving at Court d' *Arennes* one of the Prince's Deputys, to keep always the Negotiation on foot.

LX. The Deputies found their Principals as much resolute, not to abate a tittle of their Demands, as their Majesties were, nor to grant any thing further; however the Prince of Condé sent back *Beauvais la Nocle*, to join his Endeavours with d' *Arennes*, being in hopes that the King would grant

grant more than he had promised : He sent like-^{Henry III.} wife *Duchelar* and *Frequeville*, President in the ^{1575.} Parliament of *Thoulouse*, to the Assembly of the ^{Pope Gregory XIII.} Reformed, that was to be held at *Nimes*, for exhorting the said Assembly to consider whether a solid Peace could not be settled upon the Terms proposed by the King ; and if these Terms were not thought acceptable, to encourage them to persevere in the Defence of so just a CAUSE, not against his Majesty, or the States of *France*, but against the wicked Counsellors, who, under a pretence of Religion, aimed only at the Ruin and Destruction of the Kingdom ; whose wicked Designs he would oppose with all his Might, and the Assistance of several Princes Well-wishers to all true French-men.

At *Rochelle*, their Deputies being arrived on ^{LXI.} the 25th of May, they gave account the next ^{Divisions} Day of their Negotiations with the Prince of ^{at Rochelle} *Condé*, and then with the Court, and exhibited the Articles, which the King was willing ^{upon that} to grant. The Assembly were divided, and ^{Subject.} great Debates arose amongst them. Indeed both the Royalists and Confederates were tired with the War, and longed for a Peace ; therefore many there were at *Rochelle* that approved of the King's Concessions, and would not have much insisted against them ; but others found that Opinion unreasonable, inasmuch as no Security was given for the Performance of these Articles, so they resolved to confer about that with their Confederates (s).

La Nouë and the Viscount of *Roban*, understanding that the Deputies were arrived, and that there was great Divisions at *Rochelle*, came very seasonably into the Town the 3d of June ; and having convened an Assembly, he applauded much

Henry III. much the King's Good-will for a Peace, which
 1575. every one was obliged to prefer before many
 Pope Gre- things: But he warned them, not to be too hasty
 gory XIII. in such Business; because all the former Treaties
 having been violated, they ought to take care
 lest it should not be the same with this: That
 since this was an Affair of a general Concern
 with their Confederates, they ought not to do
 any thing without their Advice and Consent.
 Mean while, that they ought to talk very sober-
 ly of Peace, lest by a shew of too eager a Desire
 for it, they should run imprudently into a neces-
 sary War, out of which they would not be able
 to extricate themselves. So the Heats of the
 Dissensions were something abated by *la Nonè's*
 Prudence.

LXII. But the Rumour of these Dissensions having
 reached the Court, the Queen-Mother thought
 proper to improve this Opportunity, to engage
 the *Rochellese* to break their Union with other
 Reformed Churches, or at least with the Politi-
 cians; for that end, *la Hunauldaye* was sent to
Rochelle, however he was not admitted into the
 City but after a long Debate in the Town-
 house whether he should, or not. He came to
 the Assembly, convened for that purpose at *St.*
Yon; and having delivered his Credentials, he
 extolled the King's Good-will towards them, and
 exhorted them to come to some private Treaty
 for themselves, inasmuch as Religion was no
 longer concerned, for which the King had
 made so large Concessions; and that they
 ought not to expect any thing from *Damville*,
 or the Politicians, who minded only their own
 Interest. They ought therefore to accept the
 Terms, tendered unto them by his Majesty, and
 so to engage the other Churches by their own
 Example to embrace Peace.

La Hunauldaye spoke so plain, that it was very ^{Henry III.} easy for the *Rochellese* to see, that the Court's ^{1575.} Aim was to disunite them from the general As- ^{Pope Gre-} sociation. However, they answered, that they ^{gory XIII.} were very thankful to the King for having ^{Frustrated} vouchsafed to send them a Gentleman so much deserving as he was ; and that he had laid himself the greatest Obligations upon them for the many repeated Tokens he had given, and still gave them, of his Friendship and Good-will : But they desired him not to take amiss, if in a Matter of a general Concern with their Associates, they thought themselves obliged to do nothing without their Advice and Consent : That they will convince his Majesty by their Behaviour, that he did not bestow his Favours upon ungrateful People, and will endeavour by all means, not only to shew themselves ready to obey his just Commands, but by their Councils, Exhortations and Example, engage others to do the same.

With this Answer, *la Hunauldaye* was dismissed ; and their Deputies set out on the 15th of June from *Rochelle* for *Languedoc*, in order to confer with the Marshal *Damville*. They were obliged to stay in that Province longer than they expected, the time of their Passes being expired, they waited for another ; and *du Chelar*, the Prince's Deputy being dead at *Nîmes*, the 8th of August, another was to be put in his stead, before they could proceed. So they waited for *Rogers*, the King's Valet de Chambre, (who was very busy in several Messages from the Marshal to the Duke of *Ufex*, and *des Gordes*, Governour of *Dauphiné*, and from them to him,) to treat of a Truce for three Months, only for *Poitou*, *Xaintonge*, *la Rochelle*, *Angoumois*, and *Aulnix* ; but the King had altered his Mind, and would
not

Henry III. not consent to any Truce, if it was not general; and he sent back *Rogers* with full Power to conclude it upon these Terms, and even with this Proviso, that the Towns of *Beaucaire* and *Aiguemortes* should be first of all restored unto him. But whereas that Negotiation was then of no Effect, and that a Change happened at Court which overturned the former Schemes, and forced the King to come to the Terms of the Confederates, I shall not dwell any longer upon it; but after having given a short Account of the principal Events of the War from February to the latter End of September, I shall relate that great Revolution at Court as much prejudicial to the King's Affairs, as it was favourable to the Confederates, at least for the present (t).

LXIII. The War raged in *Languedoc*, and other Southern Provinces of France. *Alez* was surprised by *Damville*, and those who had a mind to resist were put to the Sword; the rest retired into the Citadel, in hopes of being relieved by the Duke of *Uzez*; but being not able to perform what he had promised them, they were forced to surrender. *Le Poussin* in *Vivaraïs* was surrendered to the Confederates, by the Garison itself, who had killed their Governour on suspicion of his having detained their Pay. *Beis*, another Place of the same Country, was likewise occupied by them. *Nonnay* was also recovered by them; but *Rochebude*, having intirely routed the Enemies, died of his Wounds.

In *Provence*, there was an Insurrection at *Marseilles*, against the Excise-men, who were Italians, which was like to have very dangerous Consequences; for by the Command of the Consuls, the People ran to the Custom-house, took the Books of Accounts, Register-Book, other

other Papers, Weights, and Measures, and threw the whole into the Sea. Besides that, another Troop of the Malecontents, nicknamed the *Trimmed*, appeared, amongst whom many Reformed were found; they held several Places in that Province, and were headed by the Baron of *Allemagne, Oraison, Establon*, and other Gentlemen. That Insurrection was however suppressed in a little time, and by the Divisions which reigned amongst the Nobility, they lost almost all the Places formerly in their possession. *De Vins*, acting in the King's Name, did whatever he pleased.

Henry III.
1575.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

In *Dauphiné*, *Montbrun* stormed several Towns and Castles. *Francis de Bonne*, Lord of *Diguières*, besieged by his Orders *Chatillon*, a small Town near *Die*, strong by a Castle kept by a numerous Garison. The Duke of *Ufèz*, having disbanded his Army, the twenty-two Companies of *Switzers* were sent for by *de Gordes*, Deputy-Governour of *Dauphiné*, to oppose them with his own Troops to *les Disguières*; *Montbrun* followed him, and attacked him three several times: the Night being come, he was obliged to desist. *Gordes* having given some Supply to the Besieged, marched the next Day very early in order to go to *Die*. *Montbrun* and *les Disguières*, were as diligent as he; and tho' their Forces were much inferior, having sent back their two Cannons to *Menglon*, nevertheless they went by the side of him, along the Banks of the *Drome*, feigning to have no mind to attack him as long as they were in the Plain: But when they came near the Bridge of *Oreille*, over which they were obliged to pass, they made haste to be before them with their Infantry, and took possession of a very advantageous Post. The Bridge being very narrow, the *Switzers* were obliged to

LXIV.

*Mont-
brun's Vic-
tories in
Dauphiné.*

Henry III. to break their Rank in order to pass : when about
 1575. eight hundred had crossed, *Montbrun, les Di-*
Pope Gre- *guieres*, and other Captains fell upon them, with
gory XIII. such Fury, before they could have time to rally,
 that they were cut all to pieces. A like Num-
 ber of Switzers having, with much ado, passed
 the Bridge to relieve their own Countrymen,
 shared almost the same Fate as the first. Then
 Gordes advancing with his Launciers, was forced
 to give way, and to retire to *Die* ; having lost,
 besides all his Switzers amounting to 2200,
 1600 of whom were killed with their Colonel
Freulick, and almost all their Captains ; and the
 rest being disarmed, were sent back into their
 own Country : besides that, I say, he lost a
 whole Company of Harquebusiers on horseback.
 This happened by the Middle of June.

He is rout- *De Gordes* having set on foot a new Army of
ed and ta- about 5000 Men, Horse and Foot ; *Montbrun*,
ken Prisoner. tho' much inferior in number, and against the
 Advice of *les Diguieres*, and other Captains, re-
 solved to attack them on the 9th of July : At
 first, the Victory seemed to incline on his side ;
 but his Men, instead of pursuing their Advan-
 tage, having fell a plundering, he saw himself
 surrounded with a new Troop of Enemies,
 whereby he was put in disorder, and had 16
 Gentlemen killed about him : he endeavoured to
 rally his Men, but as he was leaping over a
 Ditch his Horse harassed, fell in upon him,
 whereby one of his Thighs was broken. In that
 Condition he was forced to surrender himself to
Rochefort and *Ourche*, his near Relations, who
 promised him his Life safe ; but it was not left
 in their power to be as good as their Words :
 for he was brought to *Crest*, in order to have
 his Thigh dressed. The *Montbrunians* lost not in
 that Day above 27 Men, and the Royalists lost

200; but the taking of the Chief, was reckoned as a great Victory.

Henry III.
1575.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

The Joy for it was immoderate at Court; they had in their power, in the midst of his Victories, him who had been the first in taking upon him the Defence of Liberty oppressed in the Civil as well as in Religion, and who of late had sensibly affronted the King, (*he had suffered his Troops to plunder the King's Baggage, when he came to Lyons; and in his Answer to his Majesty's Letter he had told him, THAT ARMS AND PLAY MADE EVERY MAN EQUAL ONE WITH ANOTHER.*) Therefore Orders were immediately sent from Court, to take great care that he might be cured, and kept very strictly; and that nothing should be done concerning him, without knowing previously the King's Will. And tho' the Prince of Condé, the Marshal *Damville*, and all the Confederates, insisted, that he might be treated as a Prisoner of War; tho' the Duke of Guise, who was all-powerful at Court, required earnestly that he should be exchanged for *BESME*, the base Murderer of Admiral *Coligni*, who was then Prisoner at *Bruteville*, where he had been arrested at his coming back from Spain, and was like to suffer a condign Punishment for his Crimes; the King was not at all moved by these Intreaties, but Orders were sent to *de Gordes* to have the Prisoner tried for High Treason by the Parliament of the Province.

Therefore he was brought to *Grenoble*, where he was condemned to Death; his Trial and Judgment was hurried the more, that they were afraid lest he should die of his Fall. Nevertheless, being brought half dead, in an Elbow-chair, to the Place of Execution; he shewed forth a Constancy of Mind, far above the Strength of

He is tried,
condemned,
and executed
at Grenoble.

Henry III. his Body, and tho' he had been forbidden to
 1575. speak to the People, on Penalty of having his
 Pope Gre- Tongue cut out; yet he said, that he suffered
 gory XIII. not for Thieving, or for any like Crime, but for
 having born Arms for the Religion and the Liberty of the Kingdom, against the Disturbers of the publick Peace, and the Usurpers of the King's Authority; that he was going to Death, as to the latter End of all his Troubles and Miseries, and he prayed for the King and the Kingdom's Welfare. He submitted his Head to the Executioner's Sword, with the same presence of Mind; his hard Fate being bewailed by most part of the Spectators, who could not forbear from Tears.

His Character.

So died the great Montbrun, for having been involved, says *Thuanus*, in a War, unjust in itself, if you do consider only its first Origin, (*in Francis II's Time*) but lawful in Appearance, if you consider so many repeated Edicts, (*which had been violated.*) He was a Man of a strict Virtue, and solid Piety; as to himself, bold, courageous beyond measure, moderate in his Victories, but too indulgent to his Soldiers; the Licentiousness and Looseness whereof drew upon him the Hatred of many People in *Dauphiné*. They for a time endeavoured to revenge his Death, by sundry Plunders and Devastations, which they committed about *Grenoble*.

He was succeeded in the Generalship of the Troops of *Dauphiné*, by les Diguieres, who for several Months declined to accept of that Office, till at last the King of Navarre after his Escape from Court, obliged him to it. We shall have many Occasions of speaking of this great and extraordinary Man, who lived to the 84th Year of his Age, under the Reigns of seven Kings of France; being born in 1543, under Francis I.
 and

and died in 1627, under Lewis XIII. and from a simple Archer in *de Gordes* Company of Ordinance, having raised himself by degrees to the Dignity of Constable of *France* (v). Henry III.
1574.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

In the South-western Countries, *Perigoux*, *Brive la Gailliarde*, *Uzerche* and several other Places in *Perigord*, were taken by Surprize, or main Force, by the Viscount of *Turenne*. That Lord was still a Roman-Catholick, but having now consented to a Conference between a Minister and a Jacobine, he turned Reformed.

There was a great Insurrection in the *Limousine*, the Inhabitants of *Tulles* setting an Example to others, in refusing to pay Taxes to any of the Parties, they assembled together to the Number of about five thousand Men, tolerably well armed; but having not courage enough to withstand *Chouppes*, who, since the Reddition of *Lusignan*, had been elected to command in that Province; they retreated with the Loss of about 160 Men, and hence-forward they were more submissive.

Before we leave this Province, we must bring upon the Stage the Lady of *Miraumont*, the Heroïne of that Age; with whom very few, if any at all, of the former Ages and of her Sex, can be paralleled. That Lady had formed a Troop of Horse of sixty Gentlemen, following her Standard, and that of Love at the same time; and tho' all of them burnt with the same Flame, none of them could ever brag of any Favour from her out of the Rules of Decency. She had play'd many pranks upon *Montal*, the King's Lieutenant of the *Lower Auvergne*; and of late, she had routed two Companies of Infantry.

LXV.
Of the Lady de Miraumont.

(v) What I have said here about Montbrun's Expedition and End, is extracted out of Thuan. lib 60. and out of the History of Contable de les Diguieres, by Lewis Videt. liv. I. ch. xi.

Henry III. fantry of his : *Montal* being exasperated at this, sets on foot two thousand Men, and three hundred horse ; he sent before some Troops to make Incursions as far as a League distant from *Miraumont*, knowing that our Amazon would readily fall upon them, as indeed she did ; for having taken only fifteen Horse with her, she bid the rest to be ready to follow her Example ; then she went full gallop, the Enemies who were forty in Number discerning but fifteen Horses, because of a Mountain which covered the rest, stood on their Ground ; but she, according to her Custom, fell upon them all alone twenty paces before her Troop : She was well known by Friends and Foes by her Hair which came out of her Casque, and covered her Shoulders ; her Troop hearing the Pistols shot, charged the Enemies, who were intirely routed : But *Montal*, who desired no better than to see the Lady in the Field, thinking to be Master of her at a cheap Rate, surrounded the Castle of *Miraumont* with the Troops he had brought with him all the Night long. Our Heroïne seeing her own Castle besieged, came to the Town of *Turenne*, where she got four Companies of Harquebusiers on horseback. With this Supply, and in hopes of a greater, she attempted to introduce fifty Harquebusiers into her Castle. *Montal* having notice of this, marched with about 240 Men to meet them between two Mountains. *Dalagnac*, who commanded the Supply, attacked boldly that Infantry ; and *Montal* coming to their Relief, Lady *Miraumont* fell upon him with 50 Horse only, and overthrew all his Cavalry. *Montal* was there mortally wounded, and was carried by his Troops into a Place belonging to him, half a League off *Miraumont*, where he

died four Days after, without being able to com- Henry III.
pass his Ends (u). ^{1575.}

After the taking of *Lusignan*, the Duke of ^{Pope Gre-}
Montpensier leaving the Province in order to go ^{gory XIII.}
to the King's Coronation, (*Whereat he was not*
present, because the Duke of Guise carried his
Point for the Precedency of the senior Peers of
France before the Princes of the Blood, whose
Peerdom was not of so old a Date; which Deci-
sion however was reversed by the States of Blois,
about two Years after;) sent the Reisters into
Xaintonge, under the Command of *la Vauguion*,
and the *Baron de Vaillac*, whereby the Reformed
of that and the adjacent Countries were put to a
great stress, because of their continual Incursions,
and of their frequent Enterprizes.

The Isle of *Rhé* was taken by the Catholicks, LXVI.
under the Command of *Landereau*; and retaken ^{The Isle of}
the very same Day by the *Rockellese*, under the ^{Rhé taken}
Command of *la Popelinere*. The Catholicks ^{and retaken the}
lost on this occasion 300 Men, besides a great ^{same Day.}
Number of Prisoners of Distinction that were
brought to *Rockelle*; the Booty they took from
the Catholick Inhabitants of *Rhé*, and other
Foreigners, was very considerable. Had *Landereau*
succeeded according to his Wishes, and
been able to preserve his Conquest, he intended
to seize with the same Rapidity upon *Oleron*, *Al-*
levert, *Brouage*, and other Islands upon that
Coast; and then to block up *Rockelle* with the
Ships he expected from *Brittany*, *Bourdeaux*, and
Bayonne. Several other Enterprizes of less con-
sequence were made by the two Parties, one a-
gainst the other; some of whom succeeded,
while others miscarried, for brevity sake I shall
not mention them.

Henry III. In the Month of June a Letter directed to the
 1575. Count of *Lude*, Deputy-Governor of *Poitou*, was
 Pope Gre- found fixed to a Pole before his House at *Niort*;
 gory XIII whereby the People of *Poitou* declared, that the
 LXVII. Losses they had undergone these 13 Years, had
 A Letter been occasioned by the Nobility and Gentry;
 directed to that it was very plain by their Behaviour, that
 the Count they aimed at the Ruin of the Tradesmen and
 of *Lude*. Husbandmen; that none but the Nobility and
 Gentry had been preserved from utter Ruin
 during the last Civil Wars, because they made
 always their bargain with the strongest Party for
 their Moveables or Immoveables; that their
 way of Dealing shewed forth, that it was not
 for Religion sake that the War was kindled.
 Therefore being unwilling to bear any longer
 any such Impositions, they were twenty thou-
 sand Men Catholicks and Reformed, all ready
 to rise in Arms, and to fall upon those who sold
 them in so vile a manner. Underneath there
 was written, *NUSQUAM TUTA FIDES* (v).

LXVIII. About the same time was published at *Poi-*
A League tiers, and the adjacent Parts, a League very
 of the Ca- suspectful to many, made in the Name of the
 tholicks in Catholick Nobility and Gentry of *Poitou*, against
Poitou. the Reformed and Politicians. Several ascribed
 that Pamphlet to *la Haye*, Lieutenant of *Poitou*;
 but whereas it was subscribed by nobody, no
 great Notice was taken of it (y).

LXIX. About the latter end of May, *BESME* com-
Before the ing back from *Spain*, where he had been to
late Admi- marry one of the late Queen's Maids of Honour,
ral's Mur- to whom King Philip gave a Portion of 6000
derer ar- Crowns, was stopt by the Garison of Bouteville.
rrested. The Villain doubting not but that he would be
 very severely handled, in Revenge of the late
 Admiral's Murder, offered a thousand Crowns
 for

for his Ransom ; and to get *Montbrun*, then Prisoner at *Crest* in *Dauphiné*, released. *Bertoville*, Commandant of the Garrison, sent Notice of these Offers to the *Rockellese* ; letting them know at the same time, that if they would pay down the thousand Crowns to the Garrison, he would deliver *Besme* into their hands. But, dreading the Consequences of such a Precedent, and at *la Nouë*'s Persuasion, they refused to meddle themselves in that Business. At this time the News of *Montbrun*'s Execution had reached the Western Provinces. The Prisoner, sensible that he would be very severely treated, bribed one of his Guards and made his Escape with him ; where-with *Bertoville* being soon acquainted, he rode after them, and being come near them, as *Besme* had fired his Pistol at him, *Bertoville* ran his Sword through and through his Body, and killed him upon the Spot. As to the Guard, who was one of the Commandant's Servants, he was brought back dangerously wounded, and sent to Goal ; but a little while after he was released, paying his Ransome. This is the Fact, as related by *d'Aubigne*, *la Popeliniere*, and some others ; but *Thuanus* pretends that *Bertoville* had received a large Sum of Money of the Duke of *Guise*, for the Prisoner's Ransom ; but being not able to bear that such a wicked Man should go unpunished, and daring not to punish him publickly, he devised a middle way, and bribed a Soldier, who persuaded the Prisoner to make his Escape, offering to help him and to go along with him : Accordingly they went together in the Night, and fell into Ambushes, which *Bertoville* had laid in their way, where *BESME* having received several Wounds with Daggers died on the spot. But be it said with Reverence to *Thuanus*, his Relation looks to me unlikely.

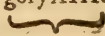
Henry III.
1575.
Pope Gregory XIII.

Henry III. What is more probable, is what he says about the Design of his Journey to *Spain*, viz. that it was rumoured, that under pretence of going thither to buy Horses by the Duke of *Guise's* Command, he had been there to renew with King *Philip* the secret Alliance the late Cardinal of *Lorraine* had made with him (z).

LXX. The Rochellese Ships arrived about this time, loaded with a very rich Prize they had taken near the *Açores* Island, of a Ship belonging to the *Portuguese*; wherein was found a thousand Pounds Weight of Gold. These were some of the principal Events of the time we are speaking of; and now we must come to that Revolution at Court, we have just mentioned before.

LXXI. The Duke of Alençon, full of a just Indignation for the ill Usage he received at Court, not only from the King his Brother, but even from his Favourites and Minions, resolved at some of his Servants Instigation to leave the Court, which was then at Paris. For that end, on the 15th or 16th of September in the Dusk of the Day, he feigned to go and see a Woman in the Suburb *St. Marceau*, with few Attendants; and being entered in her House, while his Servants were in the Streets, he came out by a Back-door that went into the Fields, and finding a Horse ready for that purpose, away he went with some of his most intimate that waited for him; a few Miles off, he met with a Troop of Noblemen that were willing to follow him every where: He did not stop till he arrived at *Dreux*, a Town of his own Apanage.

His Manifesto. The next Day he published a Manifesto, full of Assurances of his Good-will for the Kingdom, and all the Orders of it, especially the Clergy's Welfare. He complained of the obstinate Malice

lice and Wickedness of the King's corrupted Henry III.
Counsellors, who had set up his late Brother ^{1575.} Pope Gre-
King Charles against him, and so many good gory XIII.
Men, whereby his Life had been in danger, 
and he had been since very unworthily treated.
For these Causes he had left the Court, to advise
with several of the Clergy and of the Nobility
that were now come to him, what was to be done
towards the Reformation of the State; not that
he had any Thought of lessening the King's
Authority, which he desired rather to increase,
but to endeavour to restore the Laws to their
ancient Strength and Vigour, and the Kingdom
to its ancient Glory; removing from the Helm
of Affairs the Disturbers of the Publick Peace,
and to call them to account for their Robberies,
Plunders, Murders and Massacres, unheard of
before, committed with an open Force; to set
at liberty those Lords and Prime Officers of the
Crown, that were unjustly detained Prisoners,
without the least Shadow of Reason, and to
restore them to their former Dignity and Ho-
nours: To release the People of that intolerable
Burthen of Taxes, Imposts, &c. loaded upon
them, to gratify the unsatiable Greediness of
some vile Foreigners: To restore and preserve
the ancient Rights, Privileges, Immunities, and
Liberties of all Orders of the State, to keep in
the Religion of our Ancestors, and preserve the
Liberty granted to the Reformed by the Edicts
published in their Behalf; and finally, to settle a
solid and lasting Peace in the Kingdom, to ob-
tain which he did not intend to make use of any
violent Method, but of the wholesome Reme-
dies usual in such cases, and prescribed by Laws,
viz. an Assembly of the General States of the
Realm. Therefore he most humbly besought
the King his Brother and Sovereign Lord, to re-
ceive

Henry III. receive favourably this his Petition, to take it in
 1575. good part, as proceeding from a candid and up-
 Pope Gre- right Heart, who sought nothing else but the
 gory XIII. Glory of God, the Honour of his Royal Ma-
 jeſty, and the Peace and Welfare of the King-
 dom (a).

The Publick thought and talk'd variously of this Maniſeſto, according as they ſtood affected : Several ſaid, that this was done on purpoſe to amend the diſorderly Manners of the Court, to put the bad Counſellors from the King's Preſence, and to procure Liberty and Quietneſs to every one ; but the wiſer ſort of People thought that the Duke of *Alençon*, naturally ambitious, ſought nothing elſe than to be revenged of an Affront, put lately upon him by *du Guast*, one of the King's Favourites, attempting to aſſaſſinate his own, *Buſſy d'Amboiſe*, for which he could have no Satisfaction ; on the contrary, *du Guast* gave him every day new Subjects of Diſcontent, and for that purpoſe his Royal Highneſs improving the preſent Opportunity of the War already kindled in the Kingdom, was putting himſelf at the Head of the contrary Party, to the end that being ſupported by ſuch a powerful Party he might obtain better Terms for himſelf ; and then he would forſake, and even betray the Party, and leave them in the lurch. There were others who thought, that this was one of the Queen Mother's Devices, who ſuppoſed that the Reformed Affairs that would proſper under ſuch a ſtrenuous Chief as the Prince of *Condé* was, would fall into decay under the Duke of *Alençon* ; and that ſhe might manage them at her Pleaſure, by the means of her Son. However, many of the Reformed, tired with the preſent Poſture of Affairs, conceived great Hopes of this Change,

Change, not knowing yet the Genius and Temper of the said Duke; nay, Thanksgivings were publickly rendered to God on this account, at *Rochelle, Nimes, Montauban*, and several other Places, as if an Hercules (Alençon's former Name) was come down from Heaven to conquer all the French Monsters, and deliver them from their present Miseries (b).

Henry III.
1575.
Pope Gregory XIII.

The truth of the matter is, that the Duke being highly affronted at *du Guast's* Behaviour supported by the King, and resenting the Injury done to him by keeping him Prisoner so long; especially being irritated against the *Guises*, whom he considered as Authors of all his Misfortunes, he resolved, unknown to the King and Queen-Mother, and even to the King of *Navarre* himself, the Companion of his Disgraces, and only with few of his Servants, especially *Bussy d'Amboise* and *John de Simié*, to run away, in hopes that the Prince of Condé would readily yield him the Command of the Army, which was daily expected from *Germany*; by which means he would be enabled to procure for himself better Conditions, and increase his Authority and Power in the Kingdom (c).

The Court was in an uproar, when the Duke's Escape came to be known. His Majesty a little before had received the disagreeable News from *Poland*,
LXXII.
Great Con-
servation
at Court
upon this.

(b) *Idem ibid.* (c) *Thuan. lib 61.* But *Mezeray* tells us another Cause of the Duke's Discontent; he says, that the King being fallen sick some time before, he was made to believe that he had been poisoned by his Brother of Alençon; whereupon he flew into such a passion that he sent for the King of Navarre, and commanded him to kill that wicked Man; but that Prince abhorring such an Act, did not execute it. That afterwards, having had notice that the Duke intended to make his Escape, he caused him to be arrested close Prisoner in his Chamber; but released him the very next Day, at the Queen-Mother's Intercession, &c.

Henry III. *Poland*, of the Throne being declared vacant by the *Dyet*, and of the little Regard which had been paid to his Recommendation for a Successor, having charged his Embassador to endeavour to have his Brother *d'Alençon* elected in his stead; so his Vexation was the more increased by his Brother's Escape, and he ordered the Duke of *Nevers* to run after him with the Troops he had about him, which Order was repealed by the Queen-Mother. Then he caused the Places adjacent to *Paris* to be fortified, and intrusted the keeping of them to the Lords of the Court, especially the *Guisians*, leaving aside the King of *Navarre* as suspectful, whereby that Prince's generous Heart was wounded to the quick; and from that time he premeditated the ways and means to make his Escape.

LXXIII. Murmurings and Partialities increased every day at *Rockelle*. About the latter end of September, some Articles were proposed to the Citizens by the Nobility, tacitly tending to put the whole Administration into the hands of the said Nobility; and that the City should be governed by their Authority and Council, whereto the Mayor and some of the Sheriffs (*Eschevins*) might be called to be present. Such a Proposition was too odious in itself, not to be rejected with scorn by the *Rockellese*; who being above all most zealous of their Liberties and Privileges, refused to acknowledge any other but their Mayor, not only as to the Police, but likewise as to every other thing, and they payed him a dutiful Obedience, having no great Regard for the Gentry or Nobility, whom they admitted in their Council only by Favour, and when they pleased, left by their Credit and too great Power they should render themselves Masters of the Government. They seemed to be very averse from

from the very Name of Governor; 'at least, as Henry III. to their City. In a word, they shewed openly ^{1575.} Pope Gregory XIII. on this occasion, that they had no mind at all to submit themselves to the Nobility; and the Dissensions, Suspensions, and Jealousies increased daily, whereat *la Nouë* was vexed, and set out from Rochelle about the 1st of October, in order to wait upon the Duke of *Alençon*; *St. Gelais*, and several other Noblemen did the same (*d*).

Now the Prince of *Condé*, at the persuasion LXXIV. of *Casimir*, had sent to the Dyet of *Ratisbon*, to ^{The Prince of Condé petitions the Dyet of Ratisbon.} desire leave for making Levies in *Germany*, and had obtained it: (that step however was unnecessary, since by the Laws of the Empire, every Prince or Lord is at liberty to lend his Forces to whomsoever he pleases, as long as they are not to serve against the Emperor, or the Empire.) Therefore having agreed with the Prince Electoral, upon very hard terms, the Levies went on very briskly in *Germany*, every one striving to be enlisted, in certain hopes that the Court of *France* being now divided by the Absence of *Alençon*, their Stipends would be paid more readily (*e*).

The Duke being come into *Poitou* sent for the Count of *Ventadour*, a Lord of a very great Estate and Interest in the *Limosine* Country, who brought to the Duke 300 Horse and 1200 Foot, and the Viscount of *Turenne*, and several others; they came attended with a numerous Retinue of their own Vassals, all well intention'd and ready, as they said, to spend their Fortunes, and to spill the last Drop of their Blood for procuring a solid and lasting Peace to the Kingdom.

The

(*d*) Popel. liv. 40. fol. 341.

(*e*) Thuan. *ibid*.

Henry III. The Duke of *Alençon* himself feigned for a while to countenance the Reformed Cause, and ^{1575.} wrote frequently most tender and affectionate *Pope Gregory XIII.* Letters to *Rockelle* and *Montauban*; but being *LXXV.* deceitful and cunning, lest this step should be *The Duke's* prejudicial to him in other respects, he sent *Hypocrisy.* *Hennequin de la Faye* his Secretary, to the Pope, to apologize for his Union with the Reformed and Politicians; that Marshal *Damville* had been forced to form such an Union much against his Will and Inclination, being not able otherwise to support himself against the Disturbers of the publick Peace; that it was not in the least for advancing the Protestant Cause, but for restoring by their means the Peace and Tranquility in the Kingdom, either in Church or State, which were quite overturned by the wicked Devices of the King's corrupted Counsellors.

The Pope answered very kindly, and desired his Royal Highness to be always careful to promote the Honour of the Church and the Welfare of the State; and exhorted him not to carry things so far, that he should be thought to postpone the Glory of his Ancestors, and the Honour of the ancient Religion to the Gratification of his Passions, and to his private Interest (f).

LXXVI. Mean while the Queen-Mother, who was not *The Queen-Mother* willing to have a solid and lasting Peace settled in *runs after* the Kingdom, and nevertheless was afraid lest *the Duke.* she should become contemptible to her two Sons, if she suffered them to be any longer quarrelling together, advised the King to send some Deputies to the Duke his Brother; and then she took upon herself, to bring Matters to an Agreement between them. And whereas she knew that the Duke of *Montmorancy*, and the Marshal

shal of *Coffé*, were strictly united with the Duke Henry III. her Son, and had a great Influence over him, it was thought proper before all to set them at liberty. ^{1575.} Pope Gregory XIII.

Montmorancy had been a few Weeks before in great danger of his Life; for the News being come to Court, that *Damville* his Brother was dead with Poison, the King gave orders to *Souvré*, to strangle him in Prison, and promised him the Captainship of *Vincennes*, as a Reward; but *Souvré* delayed so long, that the News came to Court that *Damville* by the Strength of his Constitution had resisted the Violence of the Poison, and was recovering apace, whereby the Plot against the Duke Prisoner was defeated. As to the Marshal of *Coffé*, he had been released from the *Bastille* some time before, on account of his Sickness; and had his own House for a Prison. These two Lords, especially the Duke of *Montmorancy*, were so generous as to put aside their Resentment for the sake of the Publick; they went with the Queen-Mother into *Touraine*, for negotiating a Peace with the Duke of *Alençon*.

The News of the said Duke's Escape having reached *Germany*, *Thoré*, Brother to the Duke of *Montmorancy*, advised the Prince of Condé to yield the Generallship of the Confederate Forces to his Royal Highness, and to send some Troops to his Assistance, till he could march with all the Auxiliaries he had raised in *Germany*; whereto the Prince consenting, *Thoré* put himself at the Head of two thousand Horse and five hundred Foot, and an hundred French Cuirassiers, and having crossed the *Rhine*, he arrived on the Frontiers of *Lorraine*; then he entered *Champaign* by *Langres*, and resolving to cross the *Loire* at *la Charite*, he came to *Attigny*,

LXXVII.
*Thoré with
some Ger-
man For-
ces routed.*

Henry III. *tigny*, where he was forced to stay for several Days to appease the *German's* Mutiny, who having not received their Stipends, refused to go any further; then having crossed the *Marne*, he found himself surrounded on all sides by the King's Troops, so it was not possible for him to avoid the Battle. The King had published an Edict on the 1st of October, commanding all his Forces to be ready upon such a Day, and forbidding, upon very severe Penalties, all his Subjects of what Quality soever, to give any Help or Assistance to his Brother *Alençon*; therefore at the first News of the Germans March, the Duke of Guise had been sent into *Champaign*, whereof he was Governor, with a thousand Cuirassiers to oppose their Passage; he was joined by ten thousand Foot under the Command of Strozzi: with these Forces he fell upon *Thoré*, and routed him near *Chateau-Thierry*. He was wounded with an Harquebuss Shot in the left Cheek, the Gash whereof remained upon his Face for ever; and on that account he was surnamed the GASHED. *Thoré* escaped by Flight, and joined the Duke of *Alençon* with very few of his Troops.

LXXVIII The whole Month of October was spent in Negotiations for Peace or for a Truce: At last, *A Truce concluded.* the Duke of *Alençon* being prevailed upon by the Duke of *Montmorancy*, consented to a Truce for six Months, beginning on the 22d of November, which was concluded at *Champigny*. It was stipulated by the Articles, that the King should give five hundred thousand Livres a Month for the Payment of the Reisters raised by the Prince of Condé, provided they should not cross the *Rhine*. He was to deliver into the hands of the Confederates six cautionary Towns, *viz. Angoulême, Niort, Saumur, Bourges, la Charité, and Mezieres,*

Mezieres, which last was especially for the Prince ^{Henry III.} of *Condé*, provided that the Duke of *Alençon* ^{1575.} and the Chiefs of his Party, should swear to re- ^{Pope Gre-}store them to the King when the Truce should ^{gory XIII.} be at an end, either Peace or War, in the same Condition as they were then. His Majesty was to keep in his Pay two thousand Foot, for the Garrison of those Towns, such as the Duke his Brother should think proper to chuse. The said Duke was to have an hundred Gentlemen, his Company of Gendarmes, fifty Switzers, and an hundred Harquebusiers, for his own Guard, all upon the King's Pay. His Majesty was obliged to disband all his Foreign Troops, the *Switzers* and the *Scotch* Guards only excepted; and as soon as the abovesaid cautionary Towns should have been delivered, the two Parties were to break their Armies. Lastly, whereas the Negotiations for Peace that were on foot before, had been interrupted by this new Event; it was agreed that in January next, the Duke, the Prince, and their Associates, should send their Deputies for renewing the Conferences (g).

That Truce, tho' signed the 22d of November, was not published till a Month after; because of the mutual Mistrust and Jealousies, between the two contracting Parties: For the King, even while his Mother was treating with his Brother, had been persuaded to raise six thousand *Switzers*; and having sent for the Count of *Mansfeld*, *Gaspard de Schomberg*, and *Christophe de Bassompierre*, he had charged them to make new Levies in *Germany*. Besides that, *de Ruffec*, Governor of *Angoulême*, refused flatly to deliver the Place to the Duke of *Alençon*, as it had been stipulated; the Governor of *Bourges* did the same; so that some time longer was required to

V. III. PART II.

H

bring

Henry III. bring matters to an Agreement: At last, the
 1575. Duke was prevailed upon to accept *Cognac*,
Pope Gre- and *St. John of Angely*, instead of the two former,
gory XIII. and he caused the Truce to be published at
Ruffec, on the 23d of December; then the
 Queen-Mother set out for *Paris*, leaving the
 Dukes of *Montpensier* and *Montmorancy* with
 the Duke her Son, to dispose him to hearken
 to some reasonable Terms for a General Pacifi-
 cation (b).

Nevertheless there was nothing yet that seemed
 to tend to it, the King continued to raise Men
 and Money; but the City of *Paris* far from
 granting the Sums which he required of them,
 sent their Remonstrances to him, which favoured
 much like a Censure, and betrayed openly how
 little regard they had for his Government. The
 Duke of *Nevers*, and the Marquis of *Pienne*,
 having sold part of their Estate in *Flanders*,
 supplied the King's Wants as far as they could,
 and some of the Citizens paid some Taxes; not
 so much out of Good-will, as out of Fear, hav-
 ing been threatned with *Reisters* that should be
 quartered upon them (j).

1576. The Duke sent several Messages to *Rockelle*,
 LXXIX in the Months of December and January; he
The Duke had a mind to make some Alterations in the
attempts to Civil and the Military Government, whereto the
alter the *Rockellese* did not think proper to comply;
Govern- which occasioned great Debates and Altercations
ment at Ro- between them and the Duke's Deputies. On the
ckelle, &c. other side the Prince of *Condé* made repeated In-
 stances to have Money for the Payment of his
 Army, which amounted to eight hundred thou-
 sand Livres a Month, whereof the King had
 promised to pay five hundred thousand during
 the Truce, which however was not executed.

Messengers

Messengers arrived every-where with the News that the Duke of *Alençon* had been poisoned in *Poitou*, with *Thoré* and two of the Valets de Chambre; and that the Poison had been found in the Bottom of a Bottle; that however by some special Antidotes they had been preserved. The Duke complained thereof to the King, saying that such a thing had been contrived at Court, and requiring Satisfaction for it: He sent likewise notice of it to the Prince of *Condé*, and *Casimir*, and to the Marshal *Damville*, to *Rockelle* and other Confederate Towns, desiring them to give publickly Thanks to God for his wonderful Preservation. But many People took this only for a Device, in order to blot out the Suspicion that he acted in concert with the King his Brother, and to render his Union with the Confederates stricter for the future (*i*).

On the 9th of January. he wrote to the Parliament of Paris, whereby he certified his Fidelity and Submission to the King, his Affection and Zeal for the Kingdom's Welfare, and declared that it was much against his Will that he had called in the Foreigners to his Assistance; but he had been forced to it by the Wickedness of his Enemies, who were always setting the King his Brother against him, and were intirely averse from Peace and the Kingdom's Welfare. He desired the said Parliament to make Remonstrances to the King upon that Subject.

The Negotiations of Peace were still on foot: LXXIX. the Prince of *Condé* and *Casimir* stayed in *Lorraine* for the whole Month of January upon that account; but at last being tired with the Court's Inconstancy, who proposed one thing to-day and altered her Mind to-morrow, they entered the Kingdom and put under Contribution se-

H 2

veral

Henry III.
1576.
Pope Gregory XIII.
He pretends a Plot to poison him.

He writes to the Parliament of Paris.

The Prince of Condé with the German Army enters the Kingdom.

Henry III. 1576. *Pope Gregory XIII.* veral Cities and Towns in *Bassigny, Burgundy, Auvergne, &c.* whereby they passed, by which means they received above six hundred thousand Livres. The Duke of *Mayenne*, who commanded the Royal Army, durst not venture to come nigher the Prince's than two Days March.

When the Queen perceived that the Prince intended to march directly to *Paris*, she recalled the Army and quartered it in the adjacent Towns and Villages; but far from easing the *Parisians* of their Fears, she provoked by these means their Complaints and Murmurs: they cried aloud that the King's own Brother ought not to be treated after such manner, that it was a very cruel thing to expel the Child out of the Father's House. To these Clamours were added the Duke of Montpensier's Refusal of the Command of the Royal Army, the little Eagerness which the Lords of the Court shewed for serving the King upon this Occasion; but the worst of all was, the King of Navarre's Escape about the 9th or 10th of February.

LXXX.
*The King
of Na-
varre Es-
cape.*

That Prince was very ill used at Court, where every day some new Affront was put upon him; he was lulled with the Promise of the General Lieutenancy of the Kingdom, but that was only one of the Queen's Devices, to keep him from thinking of any thing that could better his Condition. Madam *de Sauve*'s Charms were another means whereof *Catherine* made use, for discovering all the Secrets of her Son-in-Law: That Lady, tho' married with one of the Secretaries of State, was not ashamed to serve for a Tool to the Queen-Mother, even by the Loss of her own Honour, for creating Jealousies between the Duke of *Alençon* and the King of *Navarre*, who were Rivals and for diving into their most secret Thoughts, which she imparted immediately

diately to that Princess; and the said King was so far enchanted with that Woman, that he was become a downright Slave, and spared not his own Safety nor his Friends or Servants for obtaining the Enjoyment of her. That cursed Inclination of his occasioned all his Misfortunes and Disgraces during the whole Courses of his Life, since his Marriage with *Margaret of Valois*, as we shall see in the Sequel of this History. However it was through the means of *La de Sauve*, that the Queen-Mother had been acquainted about two or three Months before with that Prince's Design of making his Escape; whereupon he had been ordered Prisoner in his own Apartment, and all his Servants, two excepted, had been removed, and others trusty to the Queen-Mother put in their stead; and at this time, tho' he had full liberty of going abroad, and even of taking the Diversion of Hunting, he was constantly attended by two Officers of the King's Guards. Now having resolved to make his Escape, upon the Remonstrances and strong Solicitations of the two faithful Servants above-mentioned, *Armagnac* and *d'Aubigné*, who shamed him for the voluptuous Life he led; he dissembled the best he could, and under pretence of a Hunting-match, having obtained leave to go so far as *Senlis*, there he found Horses ready, and came to *la Fere* in *Vermandois*, which was a Place of his own Appanage; then turning back, that he might the better deceive those who should pursue him, he arrived at *Vendôme*. He had already dispatched one of his Servants to Court to excuse his Flight, and to assure the King and the Queen-Mother, that he nor his Party would undertake nothing against the Royal Authority, or the Publick Peace. (*D'Aubigné* says, *That the King*

Henry III.
1576.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Henry III. of NAVARRE having had notice in the Suburb
 1576. of SENLIS, that FERVAQUES had declared his
 Pope Gre- Design to the King, he chose to send his two
 gory XIII. Guards one after another to Court for retarding
 the Pursuers, instead of suffering them to be killed upon the spot, as he was offered.) From thence he proceeded by long Journeys into Guienne, whereof he was Governor; he was met at Vendôme by two hundred Gentlemen, who attended him in his Journey. D'Aubigné, and before him an Author of Memoirs, observe, that passing through Alençon before he came to Vendôme, his own Physician (*Caillard* by Name) desired his Majesty to stand God-father for his Child, which the King graciously granted; and without any other Ceremony was admitted into the Reformed Church. The same D'Aubigné adds further, that being at Church, the 21st Psalm, beginning with these Words (*The King, O Lord, with Songs of Praise,*) was sung; and having desired to know whether it was done on purpose, and on his own account, he was answered No, and that it was a Psalm appointed for the Service of the Day, he took that as a good Omen. But we shall see in its proper Place that this Admittance into a Reformed Church was only a Compliment paid unto him at that time, for he was obliged afterwards to make a publick Recantation of the Errors of the Church of Rome (*k*).

The whole Court was alarmed at that Prince's Escape, only the King and the Queen-Mother were not very sorry for it; because they were in hopes that the Confederates having so many Chiefs, it would not be long before Jealousy would

(*k*) Thuan. lib. 62. pag. 156, 157. D'Aubigné, Tom. 2. liv. 2. ch. 20, 21. Mémoires pour Servir à l'Hist. de France, Tom. 1. pag. 63.

would shew forth its effects amongst them, and break their Union by the little Agreement that would be between them; which indeed happened, as they had foreseen.

Henry III.
1576.
Pope Gregory XIII.

About this time those of Vivarais, without any Distinction of Religion, made a League between themselves for their common Defence; whereby they engaged to repel by Force of Arms all Disturbers of the publick Tranquillity, if they could not be repressed by some other means. The Miseries whereto their Country was exposed, forced them to take such a step: Nothing was to be seen every where but Destruction and Ravages of the Soldiery (l).

LXXXI.
A League
in Vivarais.

The Prince's Army having crossed the Province of *Bourbonnois*, joined with the Duke of *Alençon's* near *Moulins* on the 11th of March; and they passed in Review in the Plain of *Souzè*, where the Prince, after a fine Speech, delivered up to the Duke the Command of the Army. It was above thirty thousand Men strong, Horse and Foot, and of the best Troops that ever had been seen; and nevertheless with such Forces nothing of moment was undertaken. The Queen-Mother's Devices, the whimsical Designs, and the Fickleness of *Alençon*, the frequent Mutinies of the Germans stayed them almost every Day; besides that, the Jealousies of the Chiefs created great Divisions amongst themselves. Most of the Reformed, especially the rigid, mistrusted the Duke of *Alençon's* Council, which for the most part was composed of selfish and perfidious Men, such as *Buffy*. The said Duke was jealous against the King of *Navarre*, whom he considered as a dreadful Competitor; and as to the Prince of *Condé*, who had been at the trouble of raising such a fine Army in Germany, and to

LXXXII.
The Prince
his Army
joins the
Duke of
Alençon's.

H 4

bring

Henry III. 1576. Pope Gregory XIII. bring it over thro' so many Dangers, it was indeed natural that he should not be well-pleased to see another reaping the Fruit of all his Labours; tho' it is certain, that never Prince had been more ready to sacrifice his own Concerns for the Publick Good. As to the Marshal *Damville*, he was afraid lest his Authority should be quite overwhelmed with that of so many Princes; and more than that, lest he should be forced to disoblige his own Lady, by laying out the vast Sums of Money which he had received in *Languedoc* for the publick Use, but which she kept close in her own Coffers.

Had all these Chiefs been strictly united together, they would have obtained whatever they could wish for. The Duke of *Alençon* would have had good part of the Kingdom for his Share; the *Princes*, such Governments and Pensions, as they would have asked for; and the *Reformed* such terms for the free and publick Exercise of their Religion, and such Securities as they could desire, and a solid Peace.

And, in truth, the King was not at all in a condition to resist, or to refuse any thing; his Troops were but in a small Number, besides his own Guards, and in very bad condition, being very ill paid. His Exchequer was quite exhausted, and his way of living gave a general Disgust of his Person, as well as of his Government, to all his Subjects of what Rank soever. And indeed, who should believe, that at this very time we are now speaking of, he spent his time no better than in running from Church to Church in a ridiculous Dress, or through the Streets of *Paris* with the Queen his Consort, taking all the Spaniels and other little Dogs they could find, or causing the Latin Grammar to be read before him, and learning his Declensions; where-
upon

upon Pasquier himself wrote the six following Lines :

Henry III.
1576.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

GALLIA dum passim civilibus occubat armis,
Et cinere obruitur semisepulta suo.
Grammaticam exercet mediâ Rex noster in aulâ;
Dicere jamque potest, vir generosus, AMO
Declinare cupit, vere declinat & ille
Bis Rex qui fuerat, fit modo Grammaticus (m).

The following, are by another Hand.

Discere te Linguae fama est elementa LATINÆ,
Atque AMO per quinos jam variare modos.
Quid facis, O Basileu *, nimium scis istud AMARE, * A Greek
Plus satis, ista tibi mollia verba placent. word for
O King.
Quin potius, si te externæ capit æmula laudis
Gloria, per Græcos fortior ibis opes.
Illic invenies generosum, & nobile TUPTEIN †, † A Greek
Hostibus horrendum, conveniensque tibi. word for
to beat.
Non alio. poteris pacem tibi quærere verbo,
Cum dices TUPTO ‡, dicet & hostis, AMO. ‡ A Greek
word for I
beat.
Grammaticæ studet Henricus, declinat & ille,
Extera regna habuit, vix sua regna tenet.

Now to return from this Digression, the Court LXXXIII.
found means to disunite the Chiefs by the Lure Conferen-
of their Self-Interests. The more easy to be pre- ces for
vailed upon was the Duke of Alençon, as it ap- Peace.
peared by the Conference held at Moulins, be-
tween the King's Deputies, and those of the Con-
federates; tho' nothing was concluded in it, on-
ly the Confederates sent their several Propositions
to the King, by Beauvais la Nocle and d' Arennes.

The

(m) Pasquier, ses Lettres Tom. 2. pag. 483. Paris, 1619.
In the first Verses he reads *occidit* instead of *occubat*; the
last is better methinks.

Henry III. The Deputies having been admitted to the
 1575. King's Audience, *d'Arennes* made a long Speech,
Pope Gre- tending, as usual, to obtain the free Exercise of
gory XIII. the Reformed Religion, the due Administration
 LXXXIV of Justice, and a thorough Reformation of the
Several Government in the Kingdom.

Proposi- Then *la Nocle* tendered to the King a Petition
tions offer- of the Duke of *Alençon*, containing the same
ed to the Articles which had been proposed last Year by
King by the Prince of *Condé*, and his Confederates. Be-
the Confe- sides which, the Duke required a greater Appa-
derates. nage, and for the Security of the Countries which
 should be allowed to him, besides those he possessed
 already, twelve new Companies, each of fifty Men
 at Arms.

The Prince required, that the Tythes due by
 the Reformed to the Priests, should be employed
 for the Maintenance of their own Ministers ;
 that whatever he had transacted with Prince *Cas-*
imir in the Duke of *Alençon's* Name should be
 ratified ; that he should be restored to his Go-
 vernment of *Picardy* ; that the Town of *Boloign*
 should be put into his hands, and the Lieute-
 nant thereof be at his choice ; that his Brother
 the Marquis of *Conti* should have a new Com-
 pany of fifty Men at Arms : As to the rest, he
 referred himself to the Articles proposed last
 Year.

Prince *Casimir* required that all the Churches
 in *France* should be free for the Reformed's Use,
 as well as for the Catholicks ; that the Duke of
Alençon should be declared Lieutenant-General
 of the Kingdom ; that the King should approve
 of his coming with his Army into France.

The King of *Navarre* required at first, that
 he should be at liberty to retire into *Bearn* with
 his Consort, there to restore his Affairs ; that
 the King should ratify the Alliance made between
 the

the Crown of France and his Predecessors ; and Henry III. should help him to recover his Kingdom of *Navarre* from the Hands of the *Spaniards*, who detained it unjustly ; and that in the mean while the Sum* promised to his Grand-father should be paid down unto him with all the Arrears, together with the Dowry of the Queen his Wife, and several other Privileges granted to his Ancestors. But by the second Demands he required, that whatever the Duke of *Alençon*, and the Confederates had done since the Beginning of this War, should be acknowledged as done for the King's Service ; that the Government of *Guienne* should be intirely left unto him, the Lieutenant thereof being at his Choice and Nomination ; that none but himself should put Garrisons in the Lordships and Places, which he possessed in *France* ; that the Regale in his Dominions should belong intirely to him, as it had done to his Predecessors ; that his Subjects, Vassals, &c. should have a free Commerce in *France* ; that the King should ratify whatever the late Queen of *Navarre* his Mother, and himself had ordered at *Rockelle*, concerning the Church-Lands.

1576.
Pope Gregory XIII.
* 40000
Livres
Yearly
Pension.

The Count of *Ventadour* sent likewise his Deputies to Court, requiring the King to grant a lasting and solid Peace ; to obtain which, he desired that a National Council should be called to settle the Matters concerning Religion ; that the States-General should be assembled once every two Years ; that for avoiding Atheism and Irreligion, every Frenchman should be obliged to chuse one of the two Religions predominant in the Kingdom, and to make a publick Profession of it ; that the particular States of every Province should be enabled to receive the fourth Part of all Church-Revenues, for the Maintenance of Schools and Hospitals ; that the Blasphemers

Henry III. 1576. phemers of the holy Name of God should be severely punished, without any Distinction of Persons; that the Judges Places should be sold no longer; that only proper Persons fit for that Office should be invested with it, and those who were incapable or unworthy expelled; that the Number of Officers of Justice and of the Crown should be regulated and moderated; and as to the Publick Offices the Provincial States should be enabled to name three for their Province, one of whom the King should chuse. Not a word for his own Concerns. What a generous Soul was that Lord, tho' a Roman-Catholick! So was he much valued by every wise and impartial Judge, for his strict Adherence to the publick Welfare (*n*).

LXXXV. These Demands having been examined in the King's Council several times, were answered; but whereas the Answers were not satisfactory, the Deputies, who had been received very kindly, were told that the Queen-Mother would repair in a very short time to the Duke of *Alençon*, with full Powers to conclude the Treaty.

LXXXVI. Accordingly the said Queen came to the Army on the 27th of April, attended by the Duke of *Montmorancy*, and a Squadron, one may say, of the finest Ladies of the Court; and after several Debates at last they came to an Agreement in the Abby of *Beaulieu*, near *Loches* in *Touraine*; and the fifth Edict of Peace was drawn up in sixty-three Articles. It would be needless to give it here in its full length, since it was not kept, and consequently was of no long duration: Therefore we shall give here only a short Account of it.

It

(*n*) Recueil des choses memorables sous Henry III. Thuanus is of a contrary Opinion, and blames much the Viscount of *Ventadour*; nay, he calls these his Demands, *Arrogants*. Thuan. 62. pag. 160.

It was enacted, that the Reformed, whose Religion was styled for the first time Henry III. 1576. Pope Gregory XIII. ~~PRETENDED~~ REFORMED, should enjoy the free publick Exercise of their Religion throughout the whole Kingdom without any Distinction of Times or Places, provided the Lords of the Manors would consent to it; the free Use of every thing belonging to that Exercise was granted, such as Sermons, Sacraments, Marriages, Schools, Consistories, Synods, provided one of the King's Lieutenants should be present at them. That the States-General of the Kingdom should be assembled at *Blois*, in six Months time, after the Date of the present Edict, by the King's own Appointment: That the Priests, &c. Marriage, should not be called in question for the future, and their Children should be deemed as lawful Heirs; but they could inherit only the Moveables, and the Goods that were fallen to their Parents otherwise than by Inheritance; for as to these they were excluded from the Right of Succession, either direct or collateral: That the Reformed should be admitted to all manner of Dignities, Charges, Offices, Preferments, &c. as well as the Catholicks: That the Estates, Goods, &c. belonging to the Prince of Orange, situated in the King's Dominions, should be restored unto him: That in every Parliament of the Kingdom there should be a Court, composed of an equal Number of Reformed and Catholick Judges, for deciding all Affairs, Criminal or Civil, amongst the Reformed: That the Sentences given and executed against the *Admiral, Briquemaut, Cavagnes, Coconnas, la Molle, Montgomery, Montbrun, la Haye, &c.* should be reversed, they and their Families restored to their good Name and Fame, and the Title, Dignities, Estates, &c. to their Families;

Henry III. milies ; besides that the King disowned and detested
 1576. the *Parisian Massacre*, as perpetrated against his
 Pope Gre- Consent, and to his great Sorrow : (*that was a*
 gory XIII. *downright Lye, but what signifies that ?*) That
 he took *Frederick* Elector Palatine, and *Casimir*
 his Son, for his good Friends and faithful Cou-
 sins, and was persuaded that whatever they had
 done, had been done for the Defence of his
 Kingdom : That likewise he acknowledged that
 the Levies made in *Switzerland* and the Counties
 of *Vallangin* and *Neuschâtel* had been made by
 his Orders (o) : He forgave whatever the Vi-
 dame of *Chartres*, and *Beauvais la Noche*, had
 transacted in *England* with Queen *Elizabeth*,
 since his Accession to the Crown ; and for a
 Pledge of his good Intentions, he gave the fol-
 lowing cautionary Towns to the Reformed, viz.
Beaucaire and *Aiguemortes* in *Languedoc*, *Peri-
 gueux* and *Mas du Verdun* in *Guienne*, *Nions* and
Serres in *Dauphiné*, *Issoire* in *Auvergne*, *Senes la
 grand Tour* in *Provence*, upon condition that
 the Duke of *Alençon*, the King of *Navarre*, the
 Prince of *Condé*, and the Marshal *Damville*,
 who were intrusted with these Towns, should be
 answerable for them.

Prince *Casimir* neglecting not the Concerns of
 the Reformed in the Places, which, as he pre-
 tended, belonged to the Empire, had required the
 free Exercise of the Reformed Religion for the
 Cities of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun* ; besides that,
 he required that the vast Sums, amounting to
 four Millions of Crowns, due to the German
 Troops

(o) The Court understanding last Year that great Levies
 were made in *Switzerland* for the Prince of *Condé*, com-
 plained very bitterly of it to the Cantons, by the French
 Ambassador ; whereupon *Zurick* and *Bern* forbad, under
 very severe Penalties, to proceed any further. How could
 the King now acknowledge these Levies, as done by his
 Orders ?

Troops that were come to the Assistance of the Reformed in the former Wars, should be paid down. However he was content with a Company of an hundred Men at Arms, the Command of four thousand Reisters maintained at the King's Charge, forty thousand Livres of yearly Pension, two thousand Crowns for keeping on foot some Horse, and he did not insist upon the Article of the three Cities above-named. As to the Payment of the four Millions of Crowns of Arrear, he was promised to receive two Millions of Livres in six Weeks time, and for the Remainder he should have a sufficient Quantity of Jewels pawned to him: Besides that, the Duke of *Alençon* gave him *Chateau-Thierry*, with all its Revenues (p).

Henry III.
1576.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

The Prince of *Condé* was promised the Government of *Picardy*, the Town of *Peronne* for his Residence, and two hundred Men in Garison. The Marquis of *Conti* a Company of fifty Men at Arms. The Duke of *Alençon's* Appanage was augmented with the Provinces of *Anjou*, *Touraine*, and *Berry*, the best in *France*; and thence-forward to have the Title of Duke of ANJOU, (and so we shall call him for the future.) Besides that, the Town of *Charité* was granted to him for two Years time, and an hundred thousand Crowns yearly Pension; and by a secret Article it was stipulated that he should have the Nomination to the Bishopricks, Abbeyes, &c. in all the Provinces of his Appanage.

LXXXVII.
Secret Ar-
ticles.

That Edict, which the King called IRREVOCABLE, was read, published, and registered in the Parliament of *Paris*, present his Majesty, on the 14th of May, with great outward Rejoicings, tho' several Placards were affixed in the Streets, wherein

Henry III. wherein they cursed the Counsellors of that
1576. Edict.

Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

It was publickly rumoured, that the Queen-Mother had hurried it, tho' upon very hard terms, in order to withdraw the Duke of *Anjou*, her Son, out of the Confederates Hands. *That WOMAN*, says Thuanus, *accustomed to Troubles and Divisions, foresaw that Peace would not last very long, and that in a very short time those very General States, which the Confederates longed after, would repeal that Edict without any Loss or Prejudice to the King's or her own Honour* (q).

LXXXVIII

The two
Marshals
acquitted.

The Marshals of *Montmorancy* and *Coffé* were most honourably acquitted, by a full Declaration of the King, concerning their Innocence in the Parliament of *Paris*; all the Courts being assembled.

When the Edict was registered, the two Armies parted; that of Prince *Casimir* having performed nothing notice-worthy, only the taking of *St. Verin*, a small Town which was obliged to surrender after three several Assaults: The Besiegers made a great Slaughter of the Inhabitants.

A little before the Conclusion of the Treaty, the *Rochelle* besieged and took the Castle and Town of *Marans*, about four Leagues off their City, which could not be relieved by the Royal Officers *la Roche Beritaud*, *Pui Gaillard*, and others (r).

The German Army marched into *Burgundy*, and the neighbouring Provinces; where they stayed, till the Articles agreed with *Casimir*, had been performed. The Duke went into *Berry*, having obtained what had been promised him. And whereas the King of Navarre had been the last

last that took party with the Confederates, so was he the last who reaped the Advantages promised unto him by the Edict; and he stayed some time near *Niort*, before proceeding any farther into *Guienne*. The Prince of *Condé's* Hopes of the Government of *Picardy*, and the Town of *Peronne* for his Residence, were intirely frustrated.

Henry III.
1576.
Pope Gregory XIII.

His Enviars, whose Faction were very powerful at Court, being well informed of the Catholicks heavy Complaints against the late Peace, improved that Opportunity for renewing the Troubles, and said every where that such things were not to be borne with; and boasted of their Forces, Friends and Interest: They condemned the too great hurry of the Queen, who out of a too eager Desire of getting her Son out of the Confederates hands, had made, as they said, such a shameful and unjust Peace, whereby the Condition of the Catholicks was much worse than the Hereticks. The King, out of a preposterous Prudence, connived at these Complaints; he was in hopes that having sever'd his Brother of *Anjou* from the Confederates, he would easily find an opportunity for breaking the Treaty lately concluded. Therefore those Incendiaries thought that they ought to improve these favourable Dispositions of the King, and having won the Favour and Good-will of the People in the Cities; and by these means having increased their Authority and Credit, at last they concluded a League amongst themselves (s). Before we proceed any further, let us consider this dreadful Monster in his first Embryo; who was its Father, who its God-fathers, the Place of its Conception, and of its Birth.

LXXXIX
*Outcries of
the Gui-
sans.*

Henry III. It is not worth our while, to refute what
 1576. *Maimbourg* says in his History of the League,
 Pope Gre- that the Protestants have been the first, who,
 gory XIII. under pretence of Religion, did league them-
 selves against their Kings; when the first Prince
 of Condé made himself their secret Chief in the
Ambosian Plot, and then declared himself openly,
 beginning the first Civil War by seizing upon
Orleans, &c. How that is false, is plain enough
 by the Relation we have given of these two E-
 vents, after *Castelnau de Mauvissiere*, his Com-
 mentator *Agricola*, and *Thuanus*, in the 1st and
 2d Vol. of this our History.

XC.
 Of the Ca-
 tholick
 League.

As to the League we are now speaking of, it
 was an old Serpent, *says Agricola*, which was
 cut asunder three times, rather by Fate than by
 the Prudence of *Catherine of Medicis*. At its
 Birth it was outwardly the holiest, but in truth
 the wickedest thing in the World; the Art and
 Matter of it were equally precious, and the Ar-
 tificer equally illustrious and expert. The Car-
 dinal of *Lorrain* was the Man: He contrived it
 at the Council of Trent, after the Battle of *Dreux*,
 where his Brother *Francis Duke of Guise* got
 the Day. There he extolled to the Skies the
 Exploits and Prudence of his Brother, his For-
 titude, and Piety; and shewed forth, that the
 Catholick Religion could not be better main-
 tained than by a League of all the Christian
 Princes, authorized by the Pope, who should
 elect a Chief in the Kingdom of a sufficient
 Capacity, Credit and Experience for undertaking
 the Extirpation of Hereticks, during the King's
 Minority (*t*). That was agreed in the Council,
 when

(*t*) Agric. Continuation des Mem. de Castelnau, Tom. 3.
 pag. 35. But the same Author speaks elsewhere in another
 strain; for he says, that amidst the Applauses of the Coun-
 cil

when the Duke of Guise died ; who leaving only young Children, the Cardinal always minding the Greatness of his House, that it might rival the King's and become independant, was very cautious to let drop his Scheme for that time. He hurried the Council as much as he could, abridging on purpose all Formalities, and insisting not upon several Articles which he yielded out of complaisance. When *Henry of Lorraine*, Duke of *Guise*, his Nephew, was of Age, the Cardinal, who had disposed the Affairs beforehand, gave the Pope and the King of Spain to understand, that Religion wanted the same Assistance as formerly, and the League was renewed ; but his Death put an end to his Ambition, and a stop to that Design.

The Duke of *Guise* his Nephew, flattered with the Hopes of so great a Settlement, waited with impatience for an Opportunity of compassing his ends : At last, it offered itself this Year 1576, when *Don Juan of Austria* passed incognito thro' France in his way to the Low

I 2

Countries,

cil for the great Obligations that Religion had to his whole House, especially to the Duke his Brother—Some of the Pope's Ministers insinuated unto him some Advices, pious outwardly, but very fatal in their Consequences, to make a Catholick League for the Defence of the Faith in France ; the Management whereof should belong to the Lorraine Princes, as the most zealous and the ablest for so great a Design : That the Pope thought there was no better means to revenge himself of the strong Oppositions made by the French Embassadors in the Council, than by the Settlement of a Party of Religion in France depending on himself, whereby the King's Authority should be forced to yield to the Court of Rome. The Cardinal snatch'd at the Hook, and was henceforward more complaisant to the Pope. Additions aux Mem. de Castelnau, Tom. 2. liv. 4. ch. 5. By this Account it appears that the Egg which brought forth this Serpent was hatch'd at the Court of Rome, heated in the Cardinal's Brains, and brought to a full Growth by the Duke his Nephew.

Henry III.
1576.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Henry III. *Countries*, whereof he had been made Governor.
 1576. King *Philip II.* having no Son, this *Don Juan*
 Pope Gre- his natural Brother, who premeditated to make
 gory XIII. himself Master absolute in his Government, ques-
 tioned not that the Duke of *Guise* had Projects
 in his head as to *France*, no less ambitious than
 his own as to the *Low Countries*; and he con-
 ferred with him secretly at *Joinville*, where
 they contracted together an Alliance offensive
 and defensive.

Don Juan was no sooner in *Flanders*, but he
 endeavoured to win to his Interest the Nobility
 and the Commons, who believed that it was for
 their sake, and to please them, that he withdrew
 the *Spanish* Garisons from Towns; but he was
 not cunning enough for the King of *Spain*, who
 was before-hand with him. The Rumour was
 purposely spread that he had got his last Sick-
 ness in an infected Place. However the Duke of
Guise thought that the League they had made
 together was dead with him, when the King of
Spain, who improved every thing, found means
 to raise up again for his own Interests what had
 been contrived for his own Ruin.

Very likely *Strada* and Dr. *Geddes* (v), and
 others who have copied after him, do mistake
 as to the time of *John d'Escovedo*, *Don Juan's* Se-
 cretary's Death; for *Agricola* says, that he had seen
 some Memoirs, written by Monsieur de *Peiresc*,
 upon the Relation made unto him by Mr. *du*
Vair, who had it from *Antonio Perez* himself;
 whereby it was plain, that *Escovedo* was murder-
 ed, after his Master *Don Juan's* Death. And
 indeed the Consequences of this Event are such,
 that we cannot doubt but that it happened at
 the time we said. *Escovedo* returning into *Spain*
 after

after his Master's Death, brought along with him all his secret Papers, and was received in the Prince of *Eboli's* Service, whose Creature he was. The King of *Spain* being much taken with Love for the beautiful Princess of *Eboli*, the only Woman in the World, of which one may say, that she had lost one of her Eyes without any Prejudice to her Charms, made use of *Antonio Perez* to carry his Love-letters to this Princess; and this Gentleman discharged his Commission with a greater Satisfaction than Fidelity, and was so daring as to become a Rival to a Master so dangerous in his Resentments, That could not be long a Secret for *Escovedo*, he upbraided *Perez* with Infidelity to his Master; whereupon *Perez* resolved to dispatch him immediately out of the way: for that end he told his Majesty, that *Escovedo* was the Man who thwarted him in his Passion, and that he was an Accomplice of the late Don *Juan's* Plots, who deserved justly to be undone; that his Majesty even might reap great Advantages by it, for the Lights that might be procured by the Memoirs whereof he was in possession. The King approving *Perez's* Opinion, gave immediately a written Order to *Fuentes*, to kill *Escovedo*, which was executed; and his Papers having been seized, his Master's Treaty with the Duke of *Guise* was found amongst them, with a Memorandum of the Means and Friends whereof the said Duke intended to make use, for succeeding in his Designs.

A little after, King *Philip* seeing that *France* took part in the Affairs of the *Low-Countries*, and that King *Henry* conjointly with Queen *Elizabeth* undertook the Protection of the *Dutch*, he sent *Mendoza* into *France* on pretence of an Embassy; but really for renewing

Henry III.
1576.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Henry III. the Treaty with the Duke of *Guise*. He would
 1576. have wished that *Philip* had not been in such
 Pope Gre- haste, and that he would have waited till the
 gory XIII. King's Death, or the Duke of *Anjou's* Deposition; which he was working underhand with all the Craft and Diligence possible, on pretence of that Prince's Irreligion, and his ill Behaviour. But the King of Spain was deaf to all these Propositions; and he let the Duke know, that if he delayed any longer, he would reconcile himself with the King of France at his Cost, and deliver into his Hands all his Treaties with *Don Juan*, and the Schemes of his Designs; but if he would declare himself at present, he might depend upon his Protection and Assistance, and promised him a Pension of two hundred thousand Livres a Year; So was the Duke wheedled against his Will to pull off the Mask, sooner than he had a mind. But this happened only after the Duke of *Anjou's* Death. We have been obliged to anticipate a little upon the times, to give all at once a true Notion of the Beginning, Rise and Progress of that monstrous League, which destroyed so many Thousands of People for the space of twenty Years, or thereabouts, and was like to overthrow the French Monarchy (*u*).

Now the Duke of *Guise*, well informed of the Catholicks Dispositions and Discontents on account of the late Edict, sent his Emissaries every-where to blow the coals, thinking this to be a fair Opportunity for beginning his game. *James* Lord of *Humieres*, a Man vastly rich, and who had the greatest Interest in *Picardy*, was Governor of *Peronne*, *Roye*, and *Mondidier*; he bore a grudge against the *Montmorancians*, because

(*u*) *Agricola Contin. des Mem. de Cast. Tom. 3. pag. 35, &c.*

cause of a Suit at Law which he had lost against *Henry III.*
Thoré; whereby he had been deprived of a large ^{1576.}
 Succession, which he thought to be devolved to *Pope Gre-*
 him by the Death of *Eleonora of Humieres,* *gory XIII.*
Thoré's Wife, and of her only Daughter de-
 ceased after her; besides that, he was a great
 Enemy to the Reformed. Upon all these ac-
 counts, he had adhered to *Francis* Duke of
Guise, Father of this, who in order to in-
 dear him the better to his House, caused him to be created
 Knight of the King's Order in the famous Pro-
 motion made by *Francis II.* in the Year 1560.
 So the present Duke of *Guise* questioned not but
 that that Lord was narrowly concerned in main-
 taining himself at *Peronne*; and that the Oblig-
 ation he had to his Father, joined together
 with his Zeal for the Catholick Religion, would
 engage him to assist him with all his Might in
 the Execution of his wicked Designs, and he was
 not deceived in his Expectation.

For *d'Humieres*, who had almost at his Com-
 mand the Nobility of *Picardy*, and had a great
 Interest in the Towns; having convened an
 Assembly at *Peronne*, he set forth the great dan-
 ger the Catholick Religion was threatned with,
 should the Prince of Condé be admitted in the
 Province, and proposed to make a League where-
 by the Nobility, Gentry, and Commons, should
 engage themselves by a solemn Oath to re-
 store intirely the Law of God, to preserve his
 most holy Worship, according to the Form of
 the Roman Catholick and Apostolick Church,
 abjuring and rejecting all Tenets contrary to it;
 to protect King *Henry III.* and his Successors,
 in the State, Splendor, Authority, Service and
 Obedience due to his Majesty, as it shall be set-
 tled by the Articles to be presented to the Ge-
 neral States; to maintain the Rights, Privileges,

Henry III.
1576.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

and Liberties of every Province, and restore them as they were in Clovis's times. The following Conditions were added, that the Confederates do oblige themselves to spend not only their Goods and Estates, but even their own Lives against any one of what RANK and CONDITION soever, who shall undertake to oppose or to contradict their Designs, to prosecute and punish them to the utmost of their power, and to do their best endeavours that every thing agreed upon should be exactly performed; and if any one of the Confederates be molested on account of this their Association, by any body of what RANK or QUALITY soever, the said Confederates are bound to revenge at any rate the Wrong done to him, without any RESPECT of Persons; and if it happened (which God forbid) to any one of them to break the League, or depart from it under any pretence soever, such a one shall be deemed Refractory to God, and most severely punished as guilty of High-Treason; and those who shall have punished such Traitors, shall not be molested or called to an account for it, either in publick or in private. The said Leaguers shall take an Oath of Allegiance to the Chief which shall be elected, to pay unto him an unlimited Obedience to all his Commands. All Delinquents shall be punished by that Chief's Authority. All Catholicks in the Towns and in the Country, shall be invited to enter into the League, and to find Men, Arms, &c. for the Execution of the Premisses according to their Abilities. Those who shall refuse to enter into the Association, shall be deemed Enemies of it, and treated as such. The Confederates shall submit themselves to their Chief's Decision concerning the Disputes, Quarrels, &c. that might arise between them-

selves;

selves; and they shall not be allowed to under- Henry III.
take any Prosecution before any Magistrate, ^{1576.}
without his special Leave. Whosoever shall do ^{Pope Gre-}
any thing contrary to this Agreement, shall be ^{gory XIII.}
punished at the discretion of the Chief. They
adjoined a Form of an Oath to be taken by every
one entering into that League, putting his Hands
upon the Gospels.

Such were the Beginnings of that most execrable and detestable League, which under the sacred Veil of Religion covered the most hideous and abominable Vices of Ambition, Avarice, Lewdness, Revenge, Cruelty, Barbarity, and what not; for I don't know of any Vice or Crime, how execrable soever, that has not been perpetrated by those *HOLY COVENANTERS*, especially their Abettors and Instigators, as we shall see in their proper Places (x).

Before this, the *Guisians* had sent their Agents to *Rome*, with Instructions, importing, that through the Connivance of the late Kings of the *Valesian* House descended from *Hugues Capet*, the Roman Catholick Religion was fallen into great decay in *France*; while the *Carlovingian* Race, favoured by the Blessing of the *Holy See*, which had been settled and raised by *Charlemaign* and his Successors, was despised. That for the last sixteen Years, the Wars and other Means undertaken for the Defence of the Catholick Church, had not at all succeeded, nor would ever succeed as long as the *Capetians* should sway the Scepter; because the Princes of that Race were stupid, mad, or Hereticks: but on the contrary, those of the *Carlovingian* Race were commendable for their bright Virtues, especially for their Zeal to the Preservation and
Greatness

(x) Thuan. lib. 63.

Henry III. Greatness of the *Holy See*, and always ready to undertake its Defence.

1576.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Therefore they besought the Consistory to approve and countenance their Designs to extirpate the Hereticks, and firmly to settle the *Roman See*.

For which purposes they promised to endeavour to raise the People in all the Cities and Towns at their devotion, by the means of Monks and other Preachers, to the end that the Hereticks should be deprived of Sermons, their Ministers being silenced. They would advise the King not to trouble himself with the Commotions, but to give charge secretly to the Duke of *Guise* about them; who being so authorized would form an holy League between the Nobility and others, which he would win very easily to the Church's Interest. That for that end he would make use of the Curates in the Cities and in the Country, who should make a List of all the Parishioners able to bear Arms, which they would send to him; then he would chuse some Captains, who should give them notice by their Curates of what they were to do, on pretence of their own Defence. Mean while the King would mind the General States, the Queen his Mother would bring back the Duke his Brother to Court, endeavouring to bring back too the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*; and for easing them from all Fears and Suspicions the Duke of *Guise* and his Adherents would absent themselves from Court, feigning some Discontent, and the King coming out of *Paris* would retire to a Place of a freer Access. As the time appointed for the Assembly of the General States shall draw near, the Captains of the Parishes would hold themselves in readiness, with their enlisted Men, to march where they should

should be sent. The States being assembled, Henry III. would swear before beginning their Sessions, ^{1576.} every one of them from the Chief to the last of ^{Pope Gregory XIII.} the Members; to keep and observe whatever should be decided and ordered by the said States; which should enjoin the Corporations and Commonalties to contribute towards the necessary Expences for executing their Scheme and bringing it to an happy Issue. The Pope should be required to authorize, ratify, and approve of the Articles and Decisions of the said States, and to make of them a pragmatial Sanction between the Roman See and France, such as the Concordates have been; and in order to make void the ordinary Succession settled by *Hugues Capet*, and to render the Declaration thereof subject to the Disposition of the States, as it was in the former times, it should be enacted, that if any Prince of the Blood, Lord, Gentleman, or other, should be so daring as to oppose the Execution of what should be ordered by the States, the said Prince should be immediately declared unable to succeed to the Crown; the Lords, Gentlemen, or others, declared Ignoble, and forfeit their Goods and Estates; which Forfeitures shall be employed for the Charges of the War, and their Bodies exposed to Destruction: A Reward shall be published for him, who shall kill those that cannot be apprehended. Furthermore the States shall renew the Oath of Fidelity to the Pope, swearing to live and die in the Faith proposed by the Council of *Trent*; which shall be received, and subscribed to by the States in a Body. They shall declare, that what Edicts soever, published in the Kingdom for some Years past, contrary to the Decisions of the Councils, are abrogated as void and null. That the Edicts, published by the former Kings against Hereticks, are in full force,

Henry III. force ; and shall be kept and observed, according
 1576. to their Form and Contents. The present King
 Pope Gre- shall be unbound from all Engagements, Pro-
 gory XIII. mises, &c. with Hereticks, their Accomplices,
 and Associates ; to whom a certain time shall be
 granted for coming before the Ecclesiastical
 Judges, there to make an humble Confession of
 their Sins, in order to be absolved ; then sent
 back to the King, in order to obtain Pardon
 for the Crimes committed against his Majesty.
 And whereas the Execution of that Article might
 be stayed and delayed by some rebellious Prin-
 ces, the King should be requested to appoint
 and constitute for his Lieutenant-General, some
 Prince who has the requisite Qualifications for
 such an Office, and the Duke of *Guise* shall be
 named to him as the fittest Person. Then the
 States shall remonstrate to the Duke of *Anjou*,
 what great Crime he has committed, in forsak-
 ing the King his Brother, and joining himself
 with Hereticks, declaring himself their Chief,
 and obliging his Brother to authorize the pub-
 lick Exercise of Heresy. And because such a
 Crime is High-Treason before God, as well as
 before Man, his Majesty shall not be at liberty
 to forgive it ; but they will require the General
 States to bring the said Duke to his Trial before
 Judges appointed by themselves, after the most
 holy and pious Example of the most Catholick
 King, who had caused his own only Son to be
 tried by the Court of *Inquisition*, and had exe-
 cuted the Sentence passed against him. When
 such a Resolution shall be taken, the Troops in-
 listed in the Parishes, as above said, shall march
 directly to execute it, and arrest the said Duke
 of *Anjou*, and all Princes, Lords, Gentlemen,
 and others, his Adherents ; and part of these
 Forces shall fall upon the Hereticks wherever
 they

they may be found, kill them, and seize upon their Goods and Estates, which shall be forfeited for the Use of the Military Chest. By these means the Duke of *Guise*, being at the head of a strong Army, will be enabled to enter into the rebellious Provinces, which he will easily subdue, destroying by Fire and Sword whatever shall offer to resist: He would take by Famine the strongest Cities, laying waste all the adjacent Countries, and blocking them up by some small Forts built upon the Avenues. By such Victories having won the Hearts and Affections of the Catholick Nobility, then he will bring the said Duke of *Anjou* and his Accomplices to a condign Punishment. Finally, by the Pope's Advice, and with his good Leave, he will have the King and the Queen his Consort shut up close in a *Cloister*, as it was done with *Childeric*. Then having put the Crown and Kingdom of France into the Hands of their lawful Heirs, who, at present enjoy none other Advantage but the Apostolical Blessing; he will order matters so well, that the Holy See shall be fully acknowledged by the General States of the Kingdom without any Restriction or Modification forever. All the Privileges and pretended Liberties of the GALLICAN CHURCH, shall be made void. Whereupon the said Duke offered to oblige himself in the most solemn manner, as the *Consistory* of *Rome* should think most proper (y).

This Scheme, how wicked and odious soever it is in itself, is however a matter of fact; it has not only been followed almost in every particular by the Leaguers, but it was found almost word for word amongst the Papers of one *David*,

Henry III. *David* an Attorney, who had attended the Bishop of *Paris*, Brother to the Marshal of Retz
 1576. *Pope Gregory XIII.* at Rome; when at his Return his Trunk was
 { opened and searched before several Witnesſes, and it has been inserted in the Collection of *Memoirs of the League* (z).

That dreadful Scheme was received, approved and countenanced at the Court of Rome, and nothing more was wanting but to find proper means for putting it in execution; and tho' they were obliged from time to time to make some Alterations in it according to the Circumstances, nevertheless the Intention, Matter and Instruments, were always the same; and if they did not succeed according to their Wishes, it was not for any want of human Prudence, Sagacity or Means, but by a special Providence of the King of Kings,
Job v. 12. *who disappointeth the Devices of the crafty, so that their Hands cannot perform their Enterprize.*

Before the *Guises* had engaged *d'Humieres* in their Interest, they had begun the Work at Paris, where, at the instigation of *La Bruyeres*, a Perfumer, and *Matthias* his Son, Lieutenant to the Provost, many disorderly People, who had wasted their Fortunes by Gaming, &c. subscribed to the League, being very eager to renew the Civil Wars, either for repairing their Fortunes or gratifying their Ambition and unsatiable Avarice. Many of the most substantial Citizens, out of a blind Zeal against the Reformed, and not foreseeing the dangerous Consequences of such an Union, had likewise subscribed to it. But whereas they were obliged to have every Day several private Meetings together for that purpose, because it was dangerous to meet all
 at

at once at the same place; that raised Suspi- Henry III.
cions in many, that it was done without a law- 1576.
ful Authority, and unknown to the King and Pope Gre-
the first Magistrate of the City. Therefore when gory XIII.
some of them were required to subscribe the Ar-
ticles exhibited unto them, they asked, why the
the first President *de Thou* was not present? To
which they were answered, that this Affair was
of such a nature, that the King desired it should
be secret; and therefore he would not have the
first President present at these Transactions:
That tho' the first President himself countenanced
it underhand, nevertheless he had desired them to
act as if he knew nothing of it. Whereupon
having desired some time to consider of it be-
fore they should resolve, they went to the first
President, and acquainted him with what they
had seen and been told. Then they asked him,
whether it was true that he approved of these
Dealings, and that it was done with the King's
Consent and his own Knowledge, but that he
desired to lie concealed? At this, the first Presi-
dent was struck with the Horrour of the Fact;
and told them that he knew nothing of this, and
that he thought that it was likewise unknown to
the King: Therefore that they would do wisely to
forbear those private Meetings, which could not
but give great offence to his Majesty, and aim-
ed only at the Disturbance of the publick Peace.
They having imparted that Answer to their
Friends and Acquaintances, many took a Disgust
to these Meetings; and they were suppressed, at
least less frequent, for a time. Whereupon the
Guises resolved to try whether they should not
better succeed in the Provinces, and they begun
by *Picardy*. A little time after, *d'Hamieres's*
Example was followed by the Lord *Lewis* of *la*
Trimouille, who was at variance with the Count
of

Henry III. of Lude, a faithful Servant to the King; that
 1576. Lord having a great Interest in *Poitou* and *Tou-*
Pope Gre- *raine*, prevailed with most part of the Cities and
gory XIII the Nobility of these Provinces to subscribe the
 League (a).

Now *d'Humieres* having so well succeeded in *Picardy*, *Haplincour*, a young Lord of great Interest in that Country, was charged with engaging into the League the Inhabitants of *Peronne*, with a solemn Oath to deny Admittance to the Prince of Condé. The King was not very sorry at this Denial, tho' it was a Breach of his Authority, and an Affront put upon him, but he thought that by these means he would be released from his Promises; however, in order to appease the Prince, he gave him *St. John of Angely* in *Xaintonge*, and *Cognac* in *Angoumois*.

XCI. Now the Tidings of the League spreading it-
The Reformed ill used in many Places. self every where, the Reformed were ill used in the Provinces about *Paris*, Pamphlets written against them were dispersed in every Place; and whereas they were allowed by the late Edict to meet together for divine Worship at Places two Leagues distant from that City, they were oftentimes assaulted by the Mob as they came from Church; and at last frightened by the terrible Threatnings of their Enemies, they could not enjoy the Privileges granted them.

At *Rouen*, the King present, Cardinal of *Bourbon*, Archbishop of the City, came into the Pulpit, being attended by some Bishops, and spoke to the People there assembled to hear a Sermon; he exhorted them to receive him as their true and lawful Pastor, otherwise they would find at their own costs how dangerous it was to adhere to Sectaries, and forsake the Roman Catholick Church.

The

The Bishop of *Paris*, *Peter of Gondi's* Embassy Henry III. 1576. Pope Gregory XIII. to *Rome*, was likewise very ill relished by the Reformed. He was sent thither to obtain leave of the Pope for mortgaging fifty thousand Crowns of the Church-Rents, in the King's Name. For they said, To what purpose such an Alienation? Or how the Pope would consent to it, if it was not upon Condition and Promise that that Money should be laid out for discharging the Expences of the War, to be carried on against us *(b)*? *Besides which, the secret Commission of that Ambassador was soon discovered, as above-said.*

Now the Reformed being forewarned by all XCII. King of Navarre recants. these Steps, they betook themselves to look more narrowly into their Affairs; and the King of *Navarre*, who had of late made a publick Recantation at *Niort*, protesting that whatever he had done at *Paris* at the time of the Massacre, he had done it out of Fear and through Constraint, and against the Conviction of his own Conscience, resolved to go to *Rochelle*, having He comes to Rochelle. sent first *Fervaques* to Court to bring back his own Sister *Catherine*, which he had left behind him; whereto the King having consented, she came, and met her Royal Brother in *Poitou*. Then he set out, and after many Debates at *Rochelle*, and with great ado, he was admitted into the City, on the 28th of June, with his Sister, attended only by fifty Horse; and was received outwardly with great Honours, tho' the *Rochel- lese* entertained still great Suspicions against him. *Fervaques*, who attended the King, was refused Admittance, being suspected of having been one of the Butchers of *Paris* on *Bartholomew's Day*, which Affront he highly resented; and a little time after he laid down his Office in the said

Henry III. King's Household, his Majesty being obliged to
 1576. consent to it, in order to blot out the Suspicions
 Pope Gre- which the Reformed entertained against himself,
 gory XIII. because of the too great Familiarity he kept with
 that Lord.

Having established his Authority in that City the best he could, considering the times, he set out on the and arrived at *Brouages*, where he was most splendidly received by *Mirambeau*, Lord of that Place. Having heard the Complaints of *Langoiran*, concerning the Government of *Perigueux*, whereof he had been deprived, he went two Days after to this last City, to settle the Affairs there.

XCIII. The Prince of *Condé* arrived a little after, and
The Prince of Condé comes to Rochelle. having obtained a Convoy of the King of *Navarre*, he arrived at *Brouage* on the 1st of August; from thence he went to *Rochelle*, where he was received with no less Pomp, but with greater Chearfulness than the King of *Navarre*. He surveyed the Fortifications, and offered his Services to the *Rochellese*, in the most obliging manner; having stayed in the City for nine or ten Days, he went to *St. John of Angely*, and from thence to *Cognac*.

XCIV. The Duke of *Anjou* wrote likewise to the *Ro-*
The Duke of Anjou writes to Rochelle. *chellese*; and to shew them his GREAT AFFECTION and how freely he intended to deal with them, he desired them to send him the Cannons they had taken lately at *Marans* to put them in his Castle of *Angers*, and to lend him a certain Sum of Money. But the *Rochellese* excused themselves from either, and let his Royal Highness know, that as to the Cannons, they had bought them at such a Rate; and as to the Money, their Misery was such that they could spare none.

Some

Some time after *la Boissiere*, Brother to de Henry III. Briffon, mentioned before in the Year 1574, ^{1576.} flattering himself that being born at Fontenai in ^{Pope Gre-} the Neighbourhood of Rochelle, he was neither ^{gory XIII.} unknown to, or hated by the Inhabitants, came ^{XCV.} into that City. He made the Queen-Mother to ^{La Bois-} hope, that having sown Jealousies amongst the ^{siere comes} Citizens, he would improve that Opportunity ^{to Rochelle.} for embroiling; but the Magistrates, mistrusting that crafty Man's Vanity, frustrated his Expectations. However, that he might boast that he had done something, he obtained Leave to have the Exercise of the Roman Religion restored; which had been intermitted since the last Siege, and by the Mayor's Authority, he caused Mass to be said in a Church which served for a Casting-House for Cannons; but very few besides himself and Servants attended it. This happened on the 16th of September (c).

While the Prince of Condé was waiting for XCVI. *Montagut*, whom he had sent to Court with his ^{The Prince} Complaints concerning his Government of *Pi-* ^{of Condé} *cardy*, and the Town of *Peronne*; he received ^{takes pos-} Intelligence that the said Court had no other ^{session of} View than of spinning out the time, and of dri- ^{St. John} ^{of Angely} ^{of his own} ^{accord.} ving him off with fair Words; and that he would be deprived too of the Government of *St. John of Angely*, by the same means as he had been of the Town of *Peronne*, viz. by the Faction of the Inhabitants; and it was rumoured that *Biron* was to come very soon, under pretence of making up the Differences, but indeed for strengthening the Faction by his Presence. Therefore he thought proper to prevent him, for which purpose he gave Orders to Captain *de Lucé*, to introduce secretly some Troops into *St. John*; by which means the Tumult already raised was appeased,

Henry III. and the Prince took possession of the Place, which remained in the Hands of the Reformed for ever after.

1576.
Pope Gregory XIII.
The King of Navarre and the Prince meet together at Nerac.

XCVII. *Quer*cy, from whence having sent Durfort, Viscount of Duras, to Court to take care of his Affairs there, he came to *Nerac*, where the Prince of *Condé* arrived a few Days after to consult together about the properest means of remedying the Reformed's just Complaints. They thought proper, before all, to desire Prince *Casimir*, (who was still in *Burgundy* with his Army, waiting for the full Performance of the Articles agreed with him by the late Treaty) to send some Deputies to Court, to demand the Redress of the Reformed's Grievances, and the Execution of the late Edict.

XCVIII. Prince *Casimir* sends some Deputies to Court.

This the said Prince readily granted; he sent *Theodorus Vieri* to the King, with very ample Instructions, complaining before all of the Non-performance of the Articles agreed with him three or four Months before, of the Non-payment of the Sums due to him, &c. Then he sets forth in full length the many Grievances of the Reformed, who could not enjoy the Benefit granted them by the late Edict; being deprived in many Places of the Liberty of meeting together for divine Worship, and in other Places such as *Lyons*, *Gien*, *Havre de Grace*, *Rouën*, *Metz*, *Paris*, &c. being assaulted by the Mob, countenanced by the Governors, and other Magistrates: That the Preachers were continually bawling from the Pulpits, and exasperating the People against them; that they were bragging, that the Peace would not last long: That Jugglers were not wanting, running from place to place, who said, that *Don Juan of Austria* would extirpate, very soon, all Hereticks in *France*.

That

That the Edict was made void, by new and cavillatorious Interpretations : That in *Normandy*, the *English* were deprived of the Liberty of Religion : That Judges of the Reformed Religion had not been settled as yet in the Parliaments of the Kingdom, as it had been enacted : That the Chancellor had refused to admit several in their Offices, on account of their Religion ; and several other like Complaints were exhibited by the Deputy of the said Prince to the King, requiring in his Name a speedy Redress of them all.

Henry III.
1576.
Pope Gregory XIII.

The King answered, that he was vexed to the heart that his Edict was not executed as yet, thro' the Heats and Animosities of the Parties ; but that he would take care, that his Reformed Subjects, as well as himself, should receive a due Satisfaction upon the Articles agreed with them. And indeed, as it was the King's Interest not to keep any longer such a Guest in his own Dominions, lest he should join again his Forces with the Reformed, he dispatched *Pompone de Bellevre* with a Sum of Money, and many Jewels of great Value, and Hostages to engage the Prince to march out of the Kingdom with his Army ; which he executed at last, and *Casimir* brought him as in Triumph to Heidelberg (d). At the same time *Pibrac* was sent to the Duke of *Lorraine*, to desire him in the King's and the Duke of *Anjou's* Name, that besides the Sureties his Majesty was to give to the Germans, he would be pleased to enter himself a Surety for the Payment of five thousand Crowns of Pension promised to *Casimir*, and take care that the Money should be punctually paid at *Francfort* Fairs.

XCIX.
The King's
Answer.

The Prince of Condé had likewise charged *Montagut*, to demand in private, that the King would be pleased to discharge his Debts, and to

C.
The Prince
of Condé's
Demands.

K 3

pay

(d) Idem, ibid.

Henry III. pay him the late Princess his Consort's Dowry,
 1576. as his Majesty had promised formerly, having
 Pope Gre- of late confirmed his Promise by *Paul de Foix*;
 gory XIII and to insist upon the Edict's Execution, and that
 the Government of *Picardy* should be put into
 his hands; that those who kept *Peronne* against
 the King's Will, should be called to account, and
 severely punished for it; that *Han* should be re-
 stored to *Osquerque*; that the Reformed of *Metz*
 should enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion;
 that Judges, not suspected by the Reformed,
 should be settled in the Parliaments of the King-
 dom, as it had been enacted by the Edict. The
 King answered very kindly to all these Demands,
 and sent back *Montagut* loaded with many fine
 Promises to the Prince on the 26th of Sep-
 tember.

CI. The King of *Navarre* having received notice
 of the Queen-Mother, that she would come very
 soon into *Guienne* to confer with him, and bring
Margaret his Consort with her, advanced as far as
Monferrand, not far from *Bordeaux*, to try whether
 the Parliament and the Consuls of the City would
 admit him in it; but he missed his aim, and in
 order to prevent a Tumult, he thought proper
 to retire to *Agen*, dissembling the Affront he had
 received. The Prince had received an Affront
 like this some time before, as he came from
Nerac into *Xaintonge*; and had likewise dissem-
 bled it. But henceforward that Prince resolved
 to provide for his own Safety; and whereas he
 thought himself not safe enough at *Cognac*, or
St. John of Angely, because they are situated in
 the middle of the Lands, he undertook to make
 himself Master of *Brouage*, a Sea-Port most re-
 nowned for its Salt-pans.

CII. Francis de Mirambeau was Lord of that Place.
 The Prince takes pos- James his Father, for several good Reasons, had
 session of Brouage. cauted

caused it thirty Years ago to be surrounded with a strong Wall, and had named it James-Town : Many had offered him and his Son to buy it from them, but till then he had excused himself; and *Francis* had of late received Orders from the King, by *Lansac*, either to keep it himself, or if he had a mind to dispose of it, not to do it without giving him notice of it. Now the Prince of *Condé* understanding that *Mirambeau* was ready to set out for *Blois*, where the States were to be held by the middle of November ; and that the great Expences he had been at for putting that Place in good Repair, would oblige him to sell or mortgage it ; he sent for him, and partly by Threats and partly by fair Words, he obliged him to yield it to him for three Months, This was transacted on the 11th of November ; at the end of which time the Prince was obliged to restore to him the Place, with the Cannon and all the Ammunition. However, if there was any War kindled, on account of Religion immediately after the holding of the States, the Prince might keep it longer. Such were the Terms whereto *Mirambeau* consented, not so much out of his own free Will, as out of Fear and Necessity ; for he knew that the *Rockellese*, and those of *Marans*, had sent Troops clandestinely, which, by the Connivance of the Inhabitants with the Prince of *Condé*, had been admitted into *Brouage* ; so, had he refused to subscribe to these Terms, he was in danger of being shamefully deprived of that Place. For which cause he bore henceforward a grudge to the *Rockellese*, and those of *Marans*.

The Prince, being in possession of *Brouage*, had a mind to take a turn to *Rockelle* ; but the Mayor and his Council wrote to his Highness, desiring to be excused from admitting him, al-

CIII.
The Prince
with great
ado is ad-
mitted into
Rockelle.

Henry III. 1576. Pope Gregory XIII. ledging the present Posture of Affairs, that every one expected the Confirmation of Peace by the States General, therefore they durst not do any thing that might create Jealousies. These things they said in publick; but the truth of the matter was, that the Mayor and his Party repented heartily, for having helped the Prince to the Possession of *Brouage*; and were afraid, lest he should be thereby encouraged to attempt things of greater moment, even against themselves. He resented highly that Affront, and upbraided them with Ingratitude; having no Regard for the Prince his Father's Memory, who lost his Life in Defence of the Common CAUSE; nor for himself, who had chearfully exposed himself for the same Interest. However, after several hot Debates and Altercations, between the Mayor, his Adherents, and the Captains and Citizens, it was at last resolved in an Assembly of the People, held on 23d of November, that the Prince should be admitted, provided he would promise to make no Alteration in their Privileges, one of the principal of which was, to have no Governor.

In pursuance whereof, *Odet de Nort* and *Peter Robineau* were deputed to his Highness, to make excuse for whatever was past; and to intreat him to come into the City with his Household only, and the smallest Attendance possible. Accordingly he with *Montgomery*, *Mauy*, *Montagut*, and a few others, sailed from *Brouage*, and with a fresh Gale he arrived in six Hours at *Rochele*; being not expected so soon, he was received in a great hurry, the Captains running to the Port, while the Mayor attended by the Officers of the Corporation met him in the Streets.

His Speech and Complaints to the Council. The next Day, the Council being assembled, he made a very fine Speech unto them, and let them know, that tho' he was willing to forgive intirely

intirely the late Affront they had put upon him, Henry III. 1576. Pope Gregory XIII. nevertheless he desired them for his own Satisfaction to declare plainly what Reasons they had had for being so rude with him. To which the Mayor, after many repeated Assurances of Respect and Duty to his Highness, told him, that he had been himself for what had been done, because they had been forewarned by their Correspondents of *Poitiers, Niort, Fontenai*, and other Places of *Lower Poitou*, that if the Prince was admitted the Catholick Leaguers would take this opportunity for renewing Hostilities, being much exasperated at his Highness's late Transaction with *Mirambeau* for *Brouage*; and that they had been put into such a miserable Condition by the late Wars, that the very Name of War was dreadful to them; therefore he humbly desired his Highness to forgive whatever was past, and to receive him into his Favour.

Then the Prince asked again, whether the Letters he had received of the Mayor had been written with the Citizens Consent? Being answered in the Negative, he replied, that he was very glad that such things had been done only by four or five Conspirators, whereof God would be the Avenger. Whereto he added, that he was come amongst them, to consult about their own Safety; and that there were three Things which deserved their mature Consideration, first the Duke of *Anjou's* Reunion with the Court, then the Queen-Mother's Journey into *Guienne*, and lastly the League of the Catholicks, who were making great Preparations for War in several Places, and held secret Assemblies for disturbing the publick Tranquillity. That as to the two first Points, his Opinion was, to send some Deputies to the Duke of *Anjou* and his Mother, with Orders to insist upon the Execution

Henry III. tion of the late Edict ; and as to the third, he
 1576. thought that their best way was to oppose suffi-
 Pope Gre- cient Forces to these factious People, to renew
 gory XIII. their Association, and in the mean while to watch
 narrowly upon themselves, and be ready at all
 events.

The next day having taken them into his Clofet, he told them, that he had received Letters from some Friends at Court, whereby he was made acquainted with a secret Plot formed against them, and that he was come purposely to prevent the Effects thereof. Whereupon those who were suspected were forbidden to stir out of the City ; but they having required that their Accusers should be named, and saying that this was only a Calumny spread by their Enemies, who, despairing to be ever able to seize upon the City as long as the Citizens should live together in Union and Concord, endeavoured to destroy them by Divisions and Jealousies ; Captain *Parcelle* was named by the Prince, as one of the Informers ; who being desired to declare what he knew of the Plot, refused it till proper Judges should be appointed for taking cognizance of the Matter. At last, as no Proof appeared against them, by the Prince's Advice they were honourably acquitted ; and so having cleared themselves of these Suspensions, the Citizens were reconciled one to another, and the Disputes between the Officers of the Corporation and the Officers of the Army, were superseded for a time. *La Popeliniere* adds, that the Prince remonstrated to the Rochellese, that they were in the wrong not to send their Deputies to the States General then assembled at *Blois*, and that it was to be feared lest the well intentioned for the Publick Good should be overpowered by the ill. But this is a Supposition which squares very ill with
 the

the Prince's Opinion of these States, and his own Henry III. 1576.
Conduct in that respect, as we shall see pre- Pope Gre- gory XIII.
sently (e).

Now tho' the time appointed for holding the General States was come, nevertheless the Hostilities were renewed on both sides, and in several Places, which occasioned the sixth Civil War. CIV. Beginnings of the sixth Civil War.
The Beginning of these Commotions was in *Languedoc*. Captain *Luynes*, Governor of the *Bridge of Holy Ghost* upon the *Rhône*, suspecting that *Thoré* Brother to the Marshal *Damville*, assisted by some of the Confederates, had had a mind to seize upon the Place during his Absence; (he was gone to Court, and it was strongly reported that he had been bribed by the Queen-Mother, and acted by her Orders) therefore being arrived at home he set a Guard upon those which he suspected, and even upon *Thoré* himself, whom however he suffered to make his Escape, conniving at it. As soon as *Thoré* was retired to *Bagnols*, he wrote to his Brother *Damville*, whatever had happened at the *Bridge of Holy Ghost*. That Marshal's Lady was at this time at Court, where she was much cajoled by the Queen-Mother; she wrote every Day to her Husband, and her Letters were always full of Expressions of the King's Good-will towards him, whereof he was to feel the Effects as soon as she should be come back into *Languedoc*; and indeed till now he had been deceived by these Letters, but being amazed at *Luynes's* bold Behaviour, he altered his mind, judging rightly, that if it had not been for the Court's secret Orders, he would never have been so daring as to attempt any such things of his own accord. Therefore he wrote immediately to the King of *Navarre*, to acquaint him with the Fact, and
to

(e) Thuan. lib. 63. Popelin. liv. 41.

Henry III. to desire him to join his Endeavours with his
 1576. own, to obtain from Court a reasonable Satisf-
 Pope Gre- faction and Liberty of punishing exemplarily
 gory XIII. *Luynes*, and his Adherents; but he persevered
 not long in that Humour, being soon appeased
 by his Lady's Letters, whereby she excused the
 Fact, and renewed the King's fair Promises. So
 that a little time after, fearing lest his last Letters
 to the King of *Navarre* should occasion some
 Disturbance in *Guienne*, he wrote again to him,
 and told him, that every thing was now paci-
 fied in *Languedoc*; and that it was not worth
 the while to carry things any further, for the
 temerity of such a Man as *de Luynes*. But it
 was too late; for the Rumour of that Event
 having been spread in *Xaintonge* and *Poitou*,
 both Parties took up their Arms: *Pons*, *Roy-
 ans*, *Merpin*, *Talmond*, *Marans*, and some others,
 were seized and garisoned by the Reformed.
 The Catholicks on their side were not idle,
Landereau and others seized upon *Montagut*,
Tilmont upon *Jouare*, &c. (f)

CV. The King of *Navarre* acquainted the Prince
 King of of *Condé* with the last Letters of *Damville*, de-
Navarre's siring him to restore every thing, as much as
 Comport- possible, in the same Condition they were in be-
 ment on fore the first Letters; whereto the Prince com-
 this occa- plied, as much as he could; whereof he sent
 sion. Notice to Court by *la Popelinier*e, who set out
 for that Purpose on the 27th of January, 1577,
 and was graciously received.

On the 21st of December the King of *Na-
 varre* directed circular Letters to the Nobility of
 his own Government of *Guienne*, to acquaint
 them of the sad Condition they were in through
 the Wickedness of their Enemies, and exhorting
 them to perform their Duties on this Occasion:

that

that Letter deserves, for several Reasons, to be taken notice of; therefore I have transcribed it here Word for Word.

Henry III.
1576.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

GENTLEMEN,

‘ SInce it has pleased God, after so many
‘ Calamities, Confusions and Devastations,
‘ occasioned by the Civil Wars in this Kingdom,
‘ to move his Majesty my Sovereign Lord’s
‘ Heart with Compassion for so long and con-
‘ tinual Miseries, and incline him to publish his
‘ late Edict of Peace, every one may have seen
‘ plainly that my Actions and whole Comport-
‘ ment aimed at nothing else but to have the
‘ said Edict settled and executed in my own
‘ Government, to oblige the Nobility, and the
‘ Cities through which I have passed, to promise
‘ publicly to observe and keep it, to treat
‘ equally all his Majesty’s Subjects, either Ca-
‘ tholicks or Reformed, and administer Justice
‘ unto them, without any Partiality; in a word,
‘ to make them enjoy the Benefits of the Peace,
‘ so far, that I have obliged some of the Re-
‘ formed to restore to the Catholicks certain
‘ Houses and Places which were still in their
‘ possession, tho’ some of them (*Catholicks*) de-
‘ tained still my own. This I have done, in
‘ order to set an Example to others of a
‘ sincere and thorough Reunion amongst our-
‘ selves, whereto a general Disposition was
‘ perceived in this Country, till the Lord
‘ Admiral, (*the Count of Villars*) incensed with
‘ Hatred and Passion, and charged with In-
‘ structions from those who think not themselves
‘ able to compass their Ends better than by the
‘ Continuation and renewing of Troubles and
‘ Confusions, and by kindling again the Civil
‘ Wars, is come on purpose to sow Divisions
‘ and

*His Letter
to the No-
bility of
Guienne.*

Henry III. 1576. Pope Gregory XIII. and to create Jealousies amongst us. He, at his coming, having Correspondence with five or six turbulent Spirits of *Bordeaux*, the chief City of my Government, has been the Adviser and Author of their constant keeping a Guard much stronger than in time of War, and of their denying me Admittance, when I passed hard by, on my Way to *Cognac*, to meet the Queen Mother, because they had been given to understand, that I intended to seize upon their City; which is utterly false, and an impudent Calumny and Imposition: for if I ever had such a Design, I could not desire a better Opportunity for executing it, than when I was invited by the Deputies of the Parliament, and of the Corporation, to come into it; which I delayed to do, seeing they had cheerfully received and accepted the Edict of Peace, whereby I thought that my Presence was not requisite for that Purpose. Besides which, being attended, at the very time of their Denial, by the Marshal, and Lords of *Montluc, Biron, de Lauzun, de Gondrin, de St. Ormis*, and several other Catholick Lords and Gentlemen, and the Admiral himself, is it likely that I would or could attempt any such thing, or that the above-said Lords would have lent me a helping hand for the Execution? But it is more credible and certain, that those Calumniators have no such Zeal and Affection for the King my Lord's Service, the Preservation of his Royal Authority, the Stability of his Crown, as I have, who am more concerned in these things than they. Since that, the said Admiral, not content with these first Broils, has sent Notice to several of the Catholick Nobility in this Country, to keep themselves in Readiness, with their Arms

‘ and Horse. And, on the other hand, the ^{Henry III.}
 ‘ Town of *Holy Ghost* has been lately seized, ^{1576.}
 ‘ with the Lord of *Thoré*, and the Gentlemen ^{Pope Gré-}
 ‘ of his Retinue, by Captain *de Luynes*. Which ^{gory XIII.}
 ‘ had obliged me, to my great Grief, and a-
 ‘ gainst my first Resolution, to alter my Mea-
 ‘ sures, and to provide in this City (*Agen*) for
 ‘ the Safety of my own Person, lest I should be
 ‘ exposed to the same Danger. And whereas,
 ‘ *Gentlemen*, these Things might be considered
 ‘ as the Beginnings and Fore-runners of some
 ‘ Alteration in the publick Peace, and that we
 ‘ have too often tried, at our own Costs, that
 ‘ all our Wars and Divisions have served only
 ‘ to reduce us oftentimes to this sad Extremity
 ‘ of seeing the whole Kingdom brought to the
 ‘ Brink of its utter Ruin: Do we but begin
 ‘ again, we must expect nothing less than to see
 ‘ an inextinguishable Fire, and an irreconcilable
 ‘ War kindled again all over *France*, and con-
 ‘ sequently an unavoidable Ruin. It is time to
 ‘ open our Eyes, and not let ourselves be de-
 ‘ ceived by the usual Artifices; it is time to
 ‘ foresee the dreadful Hurricane which already
 ‘ threatens us, and to prevent it by all honest
 ‘ and lawful Means, as it will be easy for us,
 ‘ were we but willing and well intentioned:
 ‘ For since the King my Lord hath sufficiently
 ‘ declared, that he desires the Observation of
 ‘ his Edict, which is a Law of Union solemnly
 ‘ made upon the publick Faith and Authority,
 ‘ and that his Intention is, that every one
 ‘ should live in Peace and Tranquillity, it is
 ‘ requisite that you all of the Nobility, Gentry,
 ‘ Clergy, and Commoners, should come to an
 ‘ Agreement to have his Majesty obeyed, and
 ‘ to see that his Intention and Declaration should
 ‘ be followed and executed. And whereas the
 ‘ People’s

Henry III. 1576. Pope Gregory XIII. People's Preservation, Quiet and Safety, is the most just and equitable of all Laws approved by God and Men, we must employ ourselves with all our Might to so useful and necessary a Work, oppose ourselves to whatever might be contrary to the Publick Peace, and resist unanimously all those who shall endeavour to create Jealousies and Mistrusts amongst ourselves, without letting ourselves be prepossessed by a false Shew and Pretence of Religion, of the King's Service, of the Publick Good, wherewith they have covered too often their wicked Designs: for Religion is implanted in Mens Hearts by the Strength of Argument, by Persuasion, and is confirmed by good Examples of a sober Life, not by the Sword, nor by Force of Arms. We are Frenchmen all of us, all Country-men; therefore we must agree together in a friendly way, and not by Rigour and Cruelty, which serve but to exasperate Men. As to the Service to the King my Lord, we cannot do any thing better nor more seasonable at this Time, than by settling in his own Kingdom a solid and lasting Peace, and reuniting together the Hearts and Wills of his Subjects; by which means the full Obedience due unto him shall be paid; which Obedience is the Glory of his Crown, whereby he shall be respected by us all, esteemed by his Allies and Friends, and dreaded by his Enemies. Every one might have seen that the greatest Efforts made till now by the Civil Wars, and with such excessive Expences, that the King's Exchequer is quite exhausted, and the Kingdom reduced to the utmost Poverty, together with all the Means lawful and unlawful put in use for extirpating the Reformed, have had no other Effect but of

drowning

‘ drowning the Kingdom in its own Blood, of ^{Henry III.}
 ‘ filling it with Fire, Cruelties, and Injustices, ^{1576.}
 ‘ of exposing the King’s Subjects to be a Prey ^{Pope Gre-}
 ‘ to the Licentiousness of Thieves and Robbers, ^{gory XIII.}
 ‘ and of kindling more and more the Wrath of
 ‘ Almighty God against us; and the wisest
 ‘ sort of Men do acknowledge at this day, that
 ‘ they (*the Reformed*) cannot be ruined but by
 ‘ the total Ruin of the whole Kingdom. As to
 ‘ the Publick Good, after so many Ruins and
 ‘ Devastations, it cannot be procured, according
 ‘ to the wisest, but by a long and lasting Peace,
 ‘ which only can restore the Kingdom to its
 ‘ ancient Lustre and Splendor, Wealth and
 ‘ Prosperity, &c. Let us then take that good and
 ‘ necessary Resolution, my Lords, and provide
 ‘ for our general Preservation against the Un-
 ‘ derdealings and Artifices of the Enemies of
 ‘ our Rest. And I do swear before God, who
 ‘ is our Judge, and who knows the most secret
 ‘ Thoughts of our Hearts, that I will maintain
 ‘ and protect you all, under the King’s Autho-
 ‘ rity; I will oppose, with all my Might,
 ‘ and put a Stop, with your and the Crown-
 ‘ Officers Advice, and the Council of the
 ‘ chief Lords, true Lovers of Peace, that are
 ‘ in this Country, to all Violences and Op-
 ‘ pressions; I will cause Justice to be administred
 ‘ impartially to every one; and dealing with you
 ‘ all with the like Affection and Tendernefs,
 ‘ you shall be for ever as dear unto me as my
 ‘ own Life; and I will prosecute with you all
 ‘ those who shall attempt to trouble our Publick
 ‘ Union, for which I shall not spare my own
 ‘ Life, nor any of the Means which God Al-
 ‘ mighty has put into my Hands. I pray to
 ‘ him, that he would be pleased to keep you all;
 ‘ my Lords, under his Almighty Protection.

Henry III. ' Done at *Agen*, the 21st of December,
 1576. ' 1576 (g)."

Pope Gre-
 gory XIII.

This Letter had its desired Effect. That Prince, by his whole Deportment, had so far gained the Nobility and the People's Affections, that every one strove to obey his Orders, and deemed themselves happy under his Government. And indeed his Equity and Impartiality went so far, that he altered many Things in his own Dominions of *Bearn* and *Low Navarre*, in the Catholicks behalf, which had been ordered otherwise by Queen *Jane* his Mother.

I shall mention here a remarkable Thing which happened about this Time, when the Catholicks and Reformed were seizing upon one another: The Town of *Villefranche* in *Perigord*, and that of *Montpasier*, being of different Partys, were watching a proper Opportunity of attacking each other; it happened so, that on the same Night they both attempted to execute their Designs, unknown to one another, they both sent what Troops they had out of the Town for that purpose; and what was more strange is, they both succeeded in their Attempt, those of *Villefranche* seized upon *Montpasier*, and these upon *Villefranche*; so that they were both seized and plundered almost at the same Hour: whereat being much surprized the next Morning, by the Interposition of their Friends, they agreed that every one should restore to the Owner what belonged unto him, and so it was done (b).

CVI. The King, by his Letters Patent of the 16th of August, dated at *Paris*, had appointed the General States at *Blois*, for the middle of November,

(g) La Popel. liv. 42. (b) Memoires de Sully, Tom. I. pag. 17.

vember, and came to *Blois* about that time, viz. Henry III. the 9th or 10th of November, with the Queen his Mother, and the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother. ^{1576.} Pope Gregory XIII. Whereas the coming of the said Duke to Court was much questioned in the Provinces; the King had directed his Letters of the 4th of November to their respective Governors and Lieutenants, to give them Notice thereof, and at the same time of his earnest Inclination for settling a solid and lasting Peace in his Kingdom, for which Purpose he was going to *Blois* with his Brother the Duke of *Anjou*, to hold the General States at the appointed Time.

Being arrived at *Blois*, having allowed Time to the Deputies for considering of their respective Instructions, and comparing them together, after the Debates arisen amongst them about the Precedency had been settled in the King's Council, the three Orders, Nobility, Clergy, and Commons met, on the 3d of December, at three several Places, the Nobility in the *City Castle*, the Clergy in the Church of *St. Sauveur*, and the Commons in the *Town-house*. CVII.
*Opening of
the said
States.*

Then after Processions, Prayers, and Fastings, the first Session began on the 6th of the same Month; when the King, attended by his Mother and his own Consort, the Catholick Princes of the Blood, the Dukes of *Merccœur*, Brother to the Queen reigning, the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Ufex*, and several other Lords and Peers of *France*, pulled off his Cap at first, and made a very fine Speech, of *Morvilliers* Bishop of *Orleans*'s Composition, as it was rumoured.

He lamented the wretched State of the Kingdom, and said, That he was in hopes that such a noble Company would find proper Remedies to restore it to its former Splendor. He added, that the Minority of his Brother *Charles* and his

*The King's
Speech.*

Henry III. own at the Beginning of the Civil Wars, were
 1576. sufficient enough for justifying them from any
 Pope Gre- Imputation of being the Authors and Abettors
 gory XIII. of them: He extolled to the Sky the Prudence
 of his Mother, in the Government of the King-
 dom; her Love for her own Children, her La-
 bours for pacifying the Troubles of the King-
 dom, her Good-will for making the People easy.
 He assured them, that he had no other Inten-
 tion but to procure the Welfare and Prosperity
 of his Subjects, the Miseries of whom touched
 him so much to the quick, that he would re-
 deem them with his own Blood. He intreated
 the whole Assembly to assist him in that holy
 Resolution, and to consider of the proper means
 for discharging the Debts of his Crown; which
 amounted to above twenty-five Millions of Pounds
 Sterling (*a prodigious Sum for that time!*) and
 to be strictly united to root out all Seeds of Par-
 tiality, reforming Abuses, restoring Justice and
 Integrity, purging his Kingdom of all bad Hu-
 mours, and to restore it to its ancient Wealth
 and Strength.

*The Chan-
 cellor's
 Speech.*

Then Chancellor *de Biragues*, having Orders to
 let them know further the King's Will, after he had
 excused himself for being so little skilled in the
 Affairs of the Kingdom, because he was a Fo-
 reigner, and then seventy Years old, (*What can
 be expected from a Government, the first Magis-
 trate whereof accuses himself of Incapacity?*)
 made however a long and tedious Speech, con-
 cerning the King's great Authority and Power,
 the Queen-Mother's Care, Prudence, Sagacity,
 and great Attention for so many Years, to pro-
 cure the Safety and Welfare of the Kingdom;
 then he exhorted the three Orders to make use
 of their best Endeavours, to assist the King in
 this Occurrence, and to find Money.

The

The Deputies of the three Orders returned their most humble and hearty thanks to the King for his most gracious Speech, and promised his Majesty to do whatever lay in their power, for answering the Expectations of the whole Kingdom. So ended the first Session. Before we proceed any further, it will be very proper to shew forth, in few words, the ways and means put in use in the Election of the Members of that Assembly, and for obliging them, when assembled, to comply to whatever was proposed by the *Guisian* Faction, or at least to remain neuters.

1°. The Convocation of the particular States in most of the Towns, Boroughs and Villages, for electing their Representatives to the General Assembly, instead of being made in a publick way, was done clandestinely through the Wickedness of some Magistrates; summoning only at the Prônes or Masses those of the Catholick Religion, knowing very well that the Reformed were not present in those Places: They were not only not summoned as they ought to have been, since they were Members of the Society, and most concerned in whatever was to be resolved in the General States, but they were roughly denied Admittance in these private States whenever they offered to come in.

2°. The three Orders were assembled at the same place, whereas in the former times each Order, Nobility, Clergy and Commons, had its separate Place, where they met together to consider the Instructions they were to give to their Representatives; and that was done so on purpose that each Order might be at liberty to bring their Grievances and Complaints one against another, if they had any, to be redressed by the General States; whereas on this occasion the Com-

Henry III.
1576.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Nullities
against the
State..

Henry III. 1576. Pope Gregory XIII. moners durst not complain against the Nobility, and both the Nobility and Commoners were awed by the Clergy.

3°. Formerly they voted, either by setting a Mark upon a Sheet of Paper, or by naming the Person at the Ear of one appointed for receiving their Votes; but on this occasion they were obliged to vote loudly, whereby the Voter was exposed to the hatred of the Candidate, whom he rejected.

4°. When it happened at this Election in several Places, as it was the case in *Vermandois* and at *Estampes*, that a Reformed had been elected, he was rejected either by the Governor of the Province, or the Magistrate of the Place, and his Procurations declared void, only on account of his Religion; nay, *Fontaines Martel*, tho' a Catholick, but a true Lover of Peace, elected for the Bayliwick of *Caux*, was insulted and very ill used by the Governor of the Country; because he spoke his own mind freely, and opposed those who trod under their feet the ancient Laws and the Usages of these particular Assemblies.

5°. The Governors, &c. took the liberty of altering the Instructions of the Representative, adding new Articles, which had never been debated by their Principals, and retrenching others; whereupon they were charged to demand Satisfaction.

6°. After the Election, the King's Council ordered the Gentlemen elected to deliver their Instructions in Writing to the General Deputy of their Provinces, (*the Sheriff of the County, or something like*); which should be tendered to the King, signed with his own Hand, wherefrom many Inconveniencies proceeded. The States Deliberations, that are to be considered as a publick Remonstrance of the whole Kingdom to the King,

King, were by that means no more than a private Petition of each Province. The Utility of these General Assemblies vanished quite away; they intended to mend and reform whatever might be amiss in their several Instructions, by comparing them one with another, and debating them in the whole Assembly by strong and solid Arguments. There might be many things in these Instructions unpleasing to the King, whereof he would take no notice when they came to be revised and corrected by his own Council; whereas he would pay a great Regard for them, were they offered unanimously in a great Assembly; and he would not know from what Place these things do proceed, according to the Maxim, QUOD OMNES FACIUNT, NEMO FACIT; *What is done by all, is done by nobody.* It was plain that the King's Council took that step, in order to blot out of the Instructions whatever concerned the Reformed Interest; for they drew new ones by themselves afterwards, and went from House to House to have them subscribed and signed, threatening those who refused: So that some out of fear, others through Ignorance or Importunity, were brought to comply; which they would never have done, had they been present to hear the Debates in a full Assembly. Nay, some Towns of the Provosty and Viscounty of *Paris*, have had their Instructions given to their Representative entirely disappointed; because they did not require that there should be any more than one Religion in France, and were ordered to reform them.

7°. The Memoirs and Instructions that were to be delivered only into the hands of the Deputy General of the Province, have been brought to the Governors of the Countries, or

Henry III
1576.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Henry III. their Lieutenants, and by them sent to the King.

1576.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Now these Abuses committed in the particular States were a strong Indication of those that would be committed in the general ones; the Nullity whereof was plain enough, as we shall see afterwards (j).

Tho' at first the States Intentions seemed to agree with the King's, nevertheless they were very different; most of the Deputies had subscribed the *League*, and consequently acted by the Duke of *Guise's* Counsel or Orders, who being absent had sent in his stead the Duke of *Mayenne*, *Peter d'Espinaç* Archbishop of *Lyons*, the Baron of *Senesçay*, and several others his Dependants. Therefore the Deputies, who had the Right of proposing the Questions, and of deliberating upon them, were resolved for the most part, not only to moderate the Articles of the late Edict of Peace, whereto they knew the King would readily consent, but to repeal it intirely, and to renew more vigorously than ever the War against the Reformed. But whereas such was not the King's Intention, the Deputies who had understood it by his Majesty's Speech, and who were afraid, lest by his Authority and Power he would frustrate their Designs and Endeavours, as often as he should have occasion to deliberate upon and decide what would be proposed unto him, they bethought themselves of a Device, whereby they intended to deprive him of the Right of deciding; and to reduce the Judges to a certain Number of Persons impowered to decide the Matters definitively and without Appeal.

Accordingly the Deputies of the Nobility and of the Clergy, thought not proper to debate in publick,

lick, whether the King was above the States, or ^{Henry III.} the States above the King; but they besought ^{1576.} his Majesty, that for the greater Dispatch of Busi- ^{Pope Gre-} ness, he would be pleased to appoint a certain ^{gory XIII.} Number of Judges, not suspected by the States, for hearing, with twelve Deputies of the said States, the Propositions of each Order, with Power and Authority to decide; and whatever should be unanimously decided by them, should have force of Law without being subject to be repealed. His Majesty was sensible enough of the Importance of such a Demand, and tho' he was vexed to the heart to see that they aimed at depriving him of his Authority, and that of a free King they had a mind to render him a Vassal of his own Subjects; nevertheless, dissembling his Resentment, he told them very gravely, that whenever the States should make their Propositions or Demands, he would give audience without any delay to the twelve Deputies which he gave them leave to appoint; and that when their Reasons should have been debated in his own Council, he would not fail to answer them, and to do whatever might be conducive to the general Satisfaction of his Subjects: for the rest, that every one might be satisfied, he would name to the States those whereof his Council should be composed. But as to the last Article, of holding as an irrevocable Law whatever should be determined by them, without knowing previously what it was; that he would by no means consent to, as being contrary to the Right of his Crown.

About this very time was found and published by the Reformed, that Paper of *David*, Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris* above-mentioned. *D'Avila* pretends, that this was only one of the Reformed's Fictions, to render the Gui-
sians

Henry III. 1576. *Pope Gregory XIII.* fians more odious to the King; but *Thuanus* deserves better, to be sure, to be credited: he tells us, that this *David* was a profligate Man, without Honour or Probity, who never undertook to defend but bad Causes, as it had been observed; and who had never pleaded in the Parliament, without being fined for some Miscarriage or other, which was deemed a shameful thing in that Parliament, and amongst the Lawyers. That having received some Damage of the Reformed in the Civil Wars, being not able to prosecute them because of the Edicts published in their Behalf, and being full of Revenge he offered his Services to the Authors of the *League*, as he could do no worse, and was accepted, and went to *Rome* about the same time that *Gondy* Bishop of *Paris* was sent Embassador to the *Pope*; that having conferred there with Cardinal *Pellevé*, one of the *Guises* Creatures, and delivered to him his Commission, he fell sick and died upon the Road as he came back; and that the above-mentioned Papers were found amongst his own, being fallen one way or other into the hands of the Reformed, who took care to have it published. He adds, that at first very little Credit was given to it, because of the great Fondness the King had for the *Lorrain* Princess; but that a Copy of them having been sent into *Spain* to King *Philip*, to have his Approbation, *John de Vivonne de St. Goart*, French Embassador at that Court, a Man renowned for his warlike Virtues, his Fidelity to the King's Service, as well as for his Nobility, and besides that much inveterated against the Reformed, having had a Copy of them, he sent it to the King: This, *Thuanus* had from the Embassador himself. Tho' his Majesty was not at first brought to destroy that pernicious *League*, and to punish exemplarily its

its Authors, at least he designed to weaken it, and frustrate its Designs for the present; the Queen-Mother not opposing his Resolution, having experienced what it was to have the House of *Guise* too powerful, tho' at this time she had a mind to make use of them for the Execution of her Designs, but she thought however that it was proper to bridle their Power. Wherein she followed *Morvilliers's* Advice, who understanding that the States were eagerly pursuing the Restoration of the Catholick Religion to the Exclusion of any other in the Kingdom, thought that it was not safe to oppose that *League*, which in appearance tended to the Settlement of that Religion, or to prosecute the Authors of it. Therefore the King, unwilling either to abolish that *League*, or to keep no account of his Embassador's Advice concerning the threatening Danger he was in, took a middle way by *Morvillier's* Counsel, and declared himself Chief of that *League*, which Honour the Leaguers destined to the Duke of *Guise*; and gave Orders to the Duke of *Mayenne* to declare his Intentions upon that point to the States, which was, that every one should subscribe to it, as well as himself. Then he sent a Copy to *Paris*, and into *Burgundy*, to have it likewise subscribed by every one.

As to the Apostolical Blessing, mentioned three or four times in *David's* Memoirs, *Thuanus* tells us, that it owed its Origin to the Dream of an old decrepid sick Man, viz. the Pope *Stephen II.* related by *Regino*, Abbot of *Prum*, in his Chronicles under the Year 753, who says, that that Pope being come into *France* to desire the Assistance of *Pepin*, against *Aistulphe* King of the *Lombards*, fell dangerously sick, and either in a Dream or Delirium he thought to have had

Henry III. a Vision of the Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*,
 1576. who, in presence of *St. Denis*, had cured him;
 Pope Gre- and by their Advice, as he was consecrating an
 gory XIII. Altar, he anointed *Pepin* and his two Sons *Charles*
 and *Carloman*, for being Kings of *France*; then
 he had obliged the Lords and great Men of the
Franks, by the Authority of *St. Peter*, to pro-
 mise with a solemn Oath, never to elect for
 their King any one who should not be of *Pepin's*
 Family, or descended from it; that they were
 those only, which God's Providence had elected
 for maintaining the Apostolical Faith, and had
 vouchsafed to raise them to the Royal Dignity,
 and by the Vicar of *St. Peter* to consecrate them
 with an heavenly Unction. *Siebert* says the
 same thing, and adds, that all Foreigners are
 forbidden from invading the Crown of *France*
 by the Apostolical Anathema (i) (*Which however*
bindered not Hugh Capet, and Henry Vth of Eng-
land, from taking possession of it; and the first
from transmitting it to his Posterity, which enjoys
it till this Day). To that Dream or Imposture
 it is, that the *Guises* referred themselves, when
 they said, that *they had no other Advantage but*
that of enjoying the Apostolical Blessing. And
 how rusty soever that Fable was, it served ne-
 vertheless as the Basis of their ambitious Pre-
 tensions, and whereby they abused the Credi-
 lity of the People, and overturned the King-
 dom topsy-turvy.

On the 15th of December, *Versoris* Deputy of
 Paris for the Commons reported to the Assembly,
 that they had examined the Article concerning
 Religion, and that after several Debates it had
 been resolved, that every one of the King's
 Subjects all over his Dominions should be
 brought

(i) D'Avila, Tom. I. liv. 6. Thuan. lib. 63. pag.
 176—178.

brought to the Unity of the Roman Church, and that none other should be tolerated; that at first that Clause had been added, *provided that could be done without War, or Disturbance of the publick Tranquillity*; but that it had been thought proper to blot out that Clause, and to have the true Religion restored by what means soever. When *John Bodin*, Deputy for the *Vermandois*, heard this, he exclaimed that such a Proposition annulled the Edicts; that the Edicts being violated, a new Civil War, so many times fatal to the Kingdom, would ensue of course. Which Freedom drew upon that Gentleman the Hatred of the Ringleaders, and seeing that it was needless for him to oppose, the Stream being too rapid for him, he forbore for the future to make any Remonstrances. The next day appeared some Wretches bribed by the Faction, coming from *Rheims*, *Chaalons* and *Soissons*, which were in the Government of *Vermandois*; they charged *Bodin* with having acted against his Instructions; but the King's Privy Council declared that whatever he had done was right.

Then on the next day, 17th of December, *St. Genys* and *Chauvin d'Aix* or *d'Acqs*, Deputies of the King of *Navarre*, *la Popeliniere* of the Prince of *Condé*, with some Ministers arrived at *Blois*, desiring Audience of the States, but were put off till three Days after; and they gave over their said Audience, at the persuasion of *Mirambeau*, who shewed forth to them that after what passed in the said States against the Interest of Religion, it was not proper for them to be present there, lest they should be thought to approve or have approved of the said Assembly. They had Orders of these two Princes to reclaim the Faith of the Edicts, and to protest against the said States as unduly called and assembled,

which

Henry III.
1576.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Henry III. which they did in a Writing, which they published.

1576.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

A few Days after the Deputies of the Universities of *Paris, Poitiers, and Orleans*, were admitted after an unusual manner; they insisted especially upon the Article of Religion, which point was at last carried by the Plurality of Votes, (notwithstanding *Bodin's* former Remonstrances) with these Clauses; That that Reunion of the Reformed with the Catholicks should be procured by the best and holiest means and ways possible: That all Exercise of the Reformed Religion being forbidden, the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons should be banished the Kingdom, after a certain time allowed to them by the King for settling their temporal Affairs, repealing all former Edicts published in their Behalf: That the King should be intreated to receive under his Royal Protection his Reformed Subjects, the Ministers, Elders, and Deacons excepted, until they had embraced the Catholick Religion. That Decree was drawn up in this Form with the Consent of the Provinces of *Isle of France, Normandy, Champaign, Languedoc, Orleanois, Picardy, and Provence*. But those of *Burgundy, Britanny, Guienne, Lyonnese and Dauphiné*, required that it should be enacted, that, *that Reunion should be procured only in a peaceable way, and without War*. But nothing more could be obtained, notwithstanding the Complaints and Murmurs of the Deputies of *Guienne* especially; who had at this time received the News, that the Reformed understanding that such a Decree was upon the Carpet, had seized upon some Towns and Castles in that Province; but their Complaints were left to the King's Decision.

His

His Majesty being very sensible, that a War ^{Henry III.} would of course follow from that Decree ; and ^{1576.} that however if he opposed it, he would draw ^{Pope Gregory XIII.} upon himself the Jealousies of the Authors and Abettors thereof, the effects of which he dreaded no less than War, being no less dangerous : in order to retard a little their Designs, he persuaded the States to send some Deputies of their Body to the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, and Marshal *Damville*, for exhorting them to submit to the States Decisions, and avoid the renewing of a War which might prove as fatal to themselves as to the Kingdom in general.

Accordingly the Instructions having been drawn up by the Clergy, and the special care of *Pontac* Bishop of *Bazas*, the injurious Expressions and Languages thereof were blotted out or mitigated by the Nobility and Commons Commissaries, not without great Debates of the Clergy to leave them such as they were. *Peter de Villars*, Archbishop of *Vienne*, *Andrew de Bourbon Rubempré*, and the Treasurer *Mesnager*, were deputed to the King of *Navarre* ; the Bishop of *Autun*, *de Montmorin*, and *Peter Rat* Mayor of *Poitiers* to the Prince of *Condé* ; *de Senetaire* Bishop of *Puy*, *Rocheport* and the Attorney *Folé*, to the Marshal *Damville*. These Deputies having taken their leave of the King and States, set out from *Blois* the 6th of January, attended by the Marshal of *Biron*. 1577.

Tho' the King, out of hatred against the Reformed, had readily consented to whatever the States had required in Behalf of the Catholick Religion and against the Reformed, nevertheless foreseeing the great Evils consequent to the repealing of the Edict, and the War once kindled, desired to know the Opinion of his chief Counsellors

Henry III. fellows of State; to have, as one may say, a kind
 of Guaranty for an Enterprize so dangerous, and
 so much out of season. They set down their
 Opinion in Writing, whereby (they seeing that
 it was needless and even dangerous to gainsay a
 thing already agreed upon) extolled to the Skies
 the pious Resolutions of the States whereto the
 King had consented, and discoursed of the ways
 and means of carrying the War. The Queen-
 Mother and the Duke of *Anjou*, had ordered them
 to speak so at random. That Writing was sub-
 scribed by the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, that of *Guise*,
 the Duke of *Montpensier* and his Son, the Dukes
 of *Guise*, *Mayenne*, *Uzez*, and thirteen others.
 This was done a day or two before the Depu-
 ties to the King of *Navarre*, &c. set out.

^{1577.}
 Pope Gre-
 gory XIII.

The Guisians did not so much approve of the
 thing, as they did hurry it; besides that, they
 were desirous the King should employ in that
 War not only his own Troops, but also those
 mentioned in *David's* Memoirs, raised in the
 Parishes, which they called the Leagued, and
 the Queen-Mother consented to it. By her Ad-
 vice *Biron* had been charged with the Commission
 of engaging the King of *Navarre* to come to
 Court, on pretence of a Match between his own
 Sister *Catherine* and the Duke of *Anjou*; for
 which purpose *Biron* was to feign to pay a Visit
 to that Princess, whom they took to be more
 credulous and easy to be deceived than she was
 indeed, and to insinuate to her that if she came
 to Court, it might be that a Marriage between
 her and the Duke would be the Consequence of
 that Step. But the Bait was too coarse to be
 catch'd at.

Now the King, whose Inclinations aimed at
 nothing else but a lazy and dissolute Life, began
 to dread the restless Ambition of the *Guises*.

He

He had for some time past taken notice, that Henry III. they affected to multiply their Titles and Dig-^{1577.} nities with a view of improving the first Op-^{Pope Gre-} portunity of renewing the Debates about the Pre-^{gory XIII.} cedency of the oldest Peers; the Duke of *Guise*, had carried the Point against the Duke of *Montpensier*, in the King's late Coronation, as observ- ed above. But his Majesty thought proper to mortify him a little now; for which purpose he published an Edict at the Beginning of this Year, whereby the Precedency of the Princes of the Blood before the Peers of the Realm, how old soever the Date of their Creation should be, was enacted; which Edict was registered in Parliam- ent on the 8th of January.

Then it was proposed by the Archbishops and Bishops present at the States, to receive without Restriction the Council of Trent; and at first the Deans of the Collegiate Churches did not oppose the Motion, but then they required to be exempted from Episcopal Jurisdiction, and that the Privileges and Immunities of the Gal- lican Church should be preserved, and declared that unless these Terms were granted them, they would never consent to the said Reception of the Council. At last, the Bishops Endeavours were frustrated by the Management of the De- puties of *Burgundy*, *Picardy*, *Poitou* and *Xain- tonge*.

On the 17th of January, the King came to the States and heard the Speeches of the Arch- bishop of *Lyons*, Speaker for the Clergy; of *Claude de Beaufremont* Baron of *Senesçay*, Speaker for the Nobility; and of *Peter Versoris*, Advo- cate in the Parliament of *Paris*, Speaker for the Commons, tending all to oblige the King to suffer no other Religion in his Dominions but the Catholick, to cause Justice to be equally ad-

Henry III. ministred to all his Subjects, to hinder his Ex-
 1577. chequer from being plundered by the Rapacity.
 Pope Gre- of his Favourites and others, &c.
 gory XIII.

The King told them that he was very glad to find such a general Agreement in the States concerning Religion and the true Worship of God; as for the rest he would take care to have their Petitions and Grievances examined by his Council, and give them all the Satisfaction possible. Mean while he forbade, that any body should absent before the ending of the Sessions, without his special Leave.

All this time the King of *Navarre*, well informed of every thing transacted in the States, and foreseeing the violent Storm that threatned him, improved all Opportunities for putting himself in a Condition to withstand its Efforts; and while they spun out the time at *Blois* in Disputes and hot Debates, he was levying Men every where, and seizing upon Places the most proper and commodious for his Designs: He had so well succeeded, that he was Master of *Bazas*, *Perigueux*, *St. Macaire*, in *Guienne*; of *Chivré*, in *Poitou*; and of *Quimperlé*, in *Britany*; and now he was besieging *Marmande* on the *Garonne*, and very near to *Bourdeaux*, with an Army less strong in Number than by the Courage of the Troops. But receiving notice of the Coming of the States Deputies, he raised the Siege and came to *Agen*.

The said Deputies having been most honourably received by *du Faur*, Lord of *Grateins*, Chancellor to the King of *Navarre*, were introduced to his Majesty's Audience. The Archbishop of *Vienna* made a long Speech to the King, about the great respect that the States had for him as first Prince of the Blood, and invited him in their Name to come to *Blois*, and to join him-
 self

self with the King for the Reunion of the two Religions; he shewed forth the great Dangers and Calamities which would arise from the Civil War, if he persisted in his Disunion: for things were now come to that Crisis, that the States would unanimously lay out their Fortunes and Lives, for having all his Majesty's Subjects all over his Dominions brought over to a perfect Conformity in Religion.

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gory XIII.

It was observed, that the King of *Navarre* hearing that Prelate discoursing upon the Calamities of the Civil Wars, he could not forbear from Tears: He answered in few words, that he took in good part their Admonitions. Then he wrote to the States very kindly; and having thanked them for their honourable Deputation, and commended their Zeal for their Religion and their Love to their Country, he said, that they ought to consider well, whether what they had required of the King that there should be but one Religion in the Kingdom, answered their Desire and Expectation; tho' it was very dangerous to pronounce that the King was not obliged by the Promises he had solemnly made to the Reformed. For it would follow from thence, that when any Party shall be tired with War, they will never be persuaded however to come to an Agreement for want of a proper Security. Therefore he desired them to consider better the matter, and not to let slip out of their hands that inestimable Good, so much wished for by every true Frenchman, *viz.* Peace; by the only Settlement whereof, their wholesome Laws and Decrees could be put in execution.

He joined to these Letters more ample Instructions, whereby he shewed the absolute Necessity of Peace; and as to the Point concerning the Catholick Religion, whereto he was required to

Henry III. ^{1577.} subscribe, he said, that he had always besought God, and did still, that if the Religion which he professed was true, as he believed sincerely it was, to have liberty of persevering in it all the Days of his Life; but if it was not true, he was ready to forsake it when he should be better informed, and not only to follow a better one, but to live and die in the Profession thereof; and having renounced all Errors, endeavoured to the utmost of his power, to banish not only out of the Kingdom, but likewise out of the World, if it was possible, all false Religion: which last Words having been blotted out by some Ministers, he caused them to be restored between the Lines. As for the rest, if the States required any thing further of him, he desired a longer time to consider and ask Advice of an Assembly of Reformed and Confederates, which was to be held at *Montauban* in few Days with the King's Licence.

The Prince of *Condé* answered the Deputies that came to him at *St. John of Angely*, in a quite different manner; for he told them, that he did not acknowledge them for States of the Realm, and looked upon them no better than as a pack of corrupted Men, bribed to serve a turn: He refused to open their Letters, and even to receive the Deputies as such; he added, that that Assembly had solicited the King to repeal the late Edict, to the great Detriment of the Kingdom, the Fate whereof he heartily bewailed, and would spill the last drop of his Blood for its Deliverance; wherefore he had oftentimes, and still wished that some of the Chiefs of both Parties would decide that Quarrel by a Duel, to save the Blood of the poor People and of so many Noblemen. Nevertheless, if they had any private Message to deliver unto him from the King,

King, he would readily hear them. So the De-
 puties being not able to obtain any thing else
 from the Prince, who in other respects treated
 them very civilly, they came back to *Blois*, and
 gave account of their Deputation on the 8th of
 February.

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 gory XIII.

Marshal *Damville* declared to the Deputies
 that came to him, that he could by no means
 approve of the Resolution taken by the States
 of repealing the late Edict and of renewing the
 War; he sent very ample Remonstrances upon
 that account to the States.

The Deputies having made their Report, the
 Commons insisted a-new upon representing to
 the King the Necessity of Peace; but were a-
 gain opposed by the Clergy and the Nobility.
 The last Day of February the Duke of *Mont-
 pensier* arrived at *Blois*, coming from the King
 of *Navarre*, to whom he had been sent by the
 King upon the same Errand as the Deputies;
 he tried to persuade the States to keep the late
 Edict granted to the Reformed, which encoura-
 ged the Commons; and after several hot De-
 bates, it was resolved to beseech the King to
 grant Peace without any Restriction, as to Re-
 ligion. The Petition was drawn up and presented
 to the King in the Name of the Commons, tend-
 ing to desire his Majesty to endeavour the Re-
 union of the Reformed to the Catholick Reli-
 gion, by all fair and peaceable means and without
 War.

On the 2d of March, the King held a Coun-
 cil, wherein it was resolved to send some De-
 puties to the King of *Navarre*, with sufficient
 Instructions and Powers to treat of a Peace; and
 Biron set out again the next Day for that purpose.

About this time the Deputies of the *Low-
 Countries* arrived at Court, desiring the King to

Henry III. grant them his Assistance, and the Duke of An-
 1577.
 Pope Gre- jou, for Protector of their Liberties and Privi-
 gory XIII. leges against the Tyranny of the Spaniards.

And on the other hand, the Deputies of the Reformed presented a Petition to his Majesty, whereby, without acknowledging the Assembly of Blois for being General States, they besought the King to forbid the said Assembly to take any Cognizance of Religious Matters, which were to be decided by a Free, General, or National Council; and that he would be pleased to maintain his last Edict of Peace.

To this the King answered, that the Reformed had required themselves with great Importunity to have the States-General assembled, as they were now; to have them FREE, which they would not be, should he make unto them any like Prohibition. But as they were at liberty to require whatever they thought proper, so they (the Reformed) had the same liberty to petition for whatever they thought to be conducive to their own Interest; and that he promised them upon his Royal Word (*and remember, says he, that I do give you my Word this day*) that I will give such an Answer to both Parties, which will tend to the Good and Welfare of all my Subjects in general; for now I am of age, and I will that whatever shall be ordered by me, should be executed; and I hope, that as good and faithful Subjects you will obey my Commands.

It would be endless to relate every thing transacted at Blois, either in the States or in the Privy Council, during the Sessions. Such as the Debates about the Supply of Money, especially about the Alienation for ever of an hundred thousand Crowns of the Crown's Demesne, which was strongly opposed; especially by Bodin and the Commons, and carried in the Negative.

gative. The Instances made by Prince *Casimir*, Henry III.
 and other Protestant and Reformed Princes of 1577.
Germany, for persuading the King to maintain Pope Gre-
 the late Edict of Peace, or at least not to de- gory XIII.
 prive the Reformed of the free Exercise of their
 Religion: Prince *Casimir's* Generosity in yield-
 ing to the King the Lands, Territories, Pensions,
 &c. which he had bestowed upon him by the
 late Treaty, to engage his Majesty not to molest
 his Reformed Subjects, or to do any thing to
 their Prejudice: The Rebuke which *Villequier*
 received from the Courts of *Heidelberg* and
Cassel, where he had been sent by the Court of
France in order to deter these two Powers from
 lending any Assistance or Relief to the Reformed of
France, while the King was now obliged to bring
 them by Force of Arms to adhere to the Catholick
 Religion: His Majesty's Letters to the Governours
 of his Provinces, for notifying to them, that he
 was resolved at the States Instances, to suffer no
 other Religion in his own Dominions but the
 Catholick: The Letters of the Reformed to
 the said Governour, to let them know their Re-
 solution of repelling Force by Force; and many
 other Occurrences less essential, and which I do
 purposely omit for brevity sake (1).

The War was immediately kindled in *Guienne*, CVIII.
 where the Duke of Mayenne was sent, who took The sixth
Brouage, after a Siege of ten or eleven Weeks; Civil War.
 then he stormed and plundered *Tonne Charante*,
Marans, and some other Places in the Neigh-
 bourhood, the Prince of *Condé* being not able
 to oppose him. Then out of bravado, he
 brought his Cannon within a Quarter of a Mile of
Rockelle, and sent his Cavalry to the very Gates

M 4

of

(1) Thuan. lib. 63. Popelin. liv. 41, 42. D'Avila,
 liv. 6. Recueil des choses mem. arrivees en France sous
 Henry III. pag. 582, 592.

Henry III. of that City, challenging the Inhabitants to come
 1577. out and fight them. Then he made an Arma-
 Pope Gre- ment for besieging them by Sea, and gave the
 gory XIII. Command of it to *Lansac*, who made a fruitless
 Attempt upon the Isle of *Rbé*; but by the Neg-
 lect of *Clermont*, Admiral of the *Rockellese*, he
 took the Isle of *Oleron*; then he came into the
 Road of *Cape de Bayes* near *Rockelle*, and burnt
 one of their largest Ships, and took another. On
 the other side, the Duke of *Anjou* was declared
 the King's Lieutenant-General, and with a nu-
 merous Army he besieged *la Charité*, and took
 it by Composition; from thence he marched into
Auvergne, besieged *Issoire*, the Inhabitants where-
 of having made a long and brave Resistance,
 were at last forced to surrender at discretion, and
 were treated by the said Duke's Orders, with
 the utmost Cruelty and Brutishness.

The Divisions and Jealousies between the No-
 bility and Citizens of *Rockelle*, fomented by the
 Queen-Mother's Pensioners in that City, occa-
 sioned, for the most part, the great Progress
 which the Duke of *Mayenne* made; for tho'
 his Army was eight or ten times stronger than
 the Reformed's, nevertheless had their Chiefs
 been strictly united together, and the Discipline
 duly observed amongst their Troops, they would
 have been able to retard them; but the great Divi-
 sions and Jealousies amongst the Chiefs, and the
 Unruliness of the Soldiery, who did not submit
 themselves to the Command of their Officers, but
 committed Plunders and Outrages every where
 for want of Pay, made them as dreadful and
 hateful to their own Party, as the Enemies
 could be. At last, the *Rockellese* being sensible
 of the great Mischiefs the Catholicks caused in
 their City, being but so many Spies, who sent
 notice of every thing to Court, expelled them;
 but

but not all, many remaining concealed, who entertained the Seeds of Division (*m*).

At this time Marshal *Damville*, either at his Lady's Instance, or because he had some Jealousy against the Chiefs of the Reformed in *Languedoc*, deserted their Party, and began Hostilities against them. The Court being informed of this, gave him an Army that he might be able to annoy them; however, lest he should increase his Authority in that Province, by the Queen's Advice, the King gave the Command of Part thereof to the Marshal *de Bellegarde*, not so much out of complaisance to him, as out of policy; being in hopes that these two Marshals would not be long together at the Head of that Army without quarrelling, which indeed happened so. *Bellegarde* besieged *Nimes*, and *Damville* besieged *Montpellier*; but by the Vigilance of the King of *Navarre*, who sent thither the Viscount of *Turenne* and *la Nouë* with some Supply to the Besieged, they both miscarried in their Attempt, and were forced to raise the Siege (*n*).

Before the Beginning of the War, and while it lasted, the Duke of *Montpensier*, *Biron* and *Villeroy*, went on several Messages to and from the Court to the King of *Navarre*, negotiating a new Treaty of Peace; which at last was concluded at *Poitiers* in the Month of September, to the great Satisfaction of the two contending Parties, especially the Prince of *Condé*, who was then at *Rochelle*, was so much overjoyed when he received the Tydings of it in the Night-time, that without any further delay he caused it to be proclaimed by Candle-light.

Tho' this Edict was not so advantageous to the Reformed, as that of the last Year, nevertheless it was more than the former; and generally

(*m*) Idem ibid. (*n*) Thuan. lib. 64.

Henry III. ^{1577.} nerally speaking, it was more equitable than any
 other before; it contain'd Sixty-three Articles,
 Pope Gre- which I have transcribed here for the Reader's
 gory XIII. Satisfaction.

*Edict of Pacification made by King Henry III.
 in order to put an end to the Troubles of
 his Kingdom, and to make all his Subjects
 thenceforward live in Peace and Quietness,
 Union, and Concord, under his Obedience.
 Read and publish'd in the Court of Parliament,
 the 8th of October, 1577.*

HENRY by the Grace of God, King of
 France and Poland, to all present and to
 come, *Greeting.* God who is the Searcher of
 the Hearts of Men, and sees the bottom of their
 Thoughts, shall always be Judge for us, that
 our Intention has never been other than to reign
 according to his Holy Commandments, and to
 govern our Subjects in all Uprightness and
 Justice; approving ourself a common Father to
 all, who has no other end but their Welfare and
 Quiet. In order thereunto, we have always
 used our utmost Endeavours to do whatever we
 judged most proper according to the Occasions
 and Times; even with a design to establish a
 certain Peace in this our Kingdom, and to pro-
 vide against the Disorders and Abuses that have
 crept into the same, through the Licence of
 such long Troubles, and to restore it to its for-
 mer Dignity and Splendor. To which end, we
 did convene our States General in our City of
 Blois, where several Things were treated of, and
 particularly upon matter of Religion; it being
 proposed by some, that one of the best Reme-
 dies was, to forbid the Exercise of all Religion
 besides the Catholick. However, it has not
 been

been God Almighty's Pleasure to let us reap the Fruit we desired thereby ; but as it is sometimes his Pleasure to visit Kingdoms and Princes with his Rod of Rigour, for the Offences and Sins of Men, the Troubles were kindled a-new in our Kingdom more than ever, to our great Grief and Sorrow. And that which troubled us more was, that the Innocent, that is, our poor People, endured the greatest Hardships, Oppression, and Injuries. All which things having consider'd, Day and Night, and Experience in our Majority of twenty-five Years, having convinced us that the Continuation of Arms and War could not afford us the Advantage we have so much desired and endeavour'd, and being fully persuaded that God Almighty will finally convert his Rigour into Mercy, and that his said Visitations are salutary Admonitions to acknowledge him, and to return into the right way of our Duty ; after having implored his Aid and Assistance, to inspire us with means to find the most necessary and most proper Remedies for the good of our State, and thereupon taken the Advice of the Queen, our most honour'd Lady and Mother, of our most dearly beloved Brother the Duke of *Anjou*, of the Princes of our Blood, and others ; of the Officers of our Crown, and other Lords and notable Persons of our Council ; we have, until it please God, by means of a good, free, and lawful general Council, to reunite all our Subjects to the Catholick Church, by this our present Edict, perpetual and irrevocable, said, declared, enacted, and ordain'd ; say, declare, enact, and ordain what followeth :

I. That the Remembrance of all things past on either side, from the beginning of the Troubles happen'd in our Kingdom to this present time, and

Henry III. and upon the account of the same, shall be extinguish'd and laid aside, as of things that had
 1577. never been. Neither shall it be lawful for our
 Pope Gre- Attorney-Generals, or any other Persons, pub-
 gory XIII. lick or private, at any time, or on any occasion
 whatever, to make mention, or make any Pro-
 secution of the same, in any Court or Jurisdic-
 tion whatever.

II. We forbid all our Subjects, of what Con-
 dition or Quality soever, to renew the Remem-
 brance thereof, to affront or provoke each other
 by Reproaches of what is past, upon any account
 or pretence whatever; to dispute, contend,
 quarrel, abuse, or offend one another, by Word
 or Deed, but to forbear, and live peaceably to-
 gether, as Brethren, Friends, and Fellow-Citizens,
 on pain for the Delinquents of being punish'd as
 Infrastructors of the Peace, and Disturbers of the
 Publick Good.

III. It is our Will and Pleasure, that the
 Catholick Religion shall be restored and re-
 establish'd in all Places and Parts of this our
 Kingdom, and Territories under our Obedience,
 where the Exercise thereof has been interrupted,
 there to be freely and peaceably perform'd with-
 out the least Trouble and Molestation. Forbid-
 ing most expressly all Persons, of what State,
 Quality, or Condition soever, on the Pains a-
 bove-mention'd, to trouble, molest, or disturb
 the Ecclesiasticks in the Celebration of Divine
 Service, Injoyment and Gathering of their
 Tythes, Fruits, and Revenues of their Bene-
 fices, and all other Rights and Immunities to
 them appertaining. And that all such who,
 during the present and precedent Troubles,
 have taken possession of Churches, Houses,
 Estates, and Revenues belonging to the said
 Ecclesiasticks, and who detain and occupy the
 same,

same, shall yield them the entire Possession, and peaceable Injoyment thereof, with such Rights, Liberties, and Immunities as they enjoy'd before their being dispossest'd of the same. Henry III.
1577.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

IV. And to remove all occasion of Contentions and Differences amongst our Subjects, we have allow'd and do permit those of the said pretended Reform'd Religion, to live and inhabit in all the Cities and Places of this our Kingdom and Territories under our Obedience, without being troubled, vex'd, molested, or constrain'd to do any thing against their Conscience, or disturb'd in the Houses and Places where they shall think fit to inhabit, they behaving themselves according to the Contents of this our present Edict.

V. We have also given leave to all Lords, Gentlemen, and others, as well actual Inhabitants, as others professing the pretended Reform'd Religion, possessing in our said Kingdom, High Jurisdiction, or full Fief *de Haubert*, as in *Normandy*, either in proper, or without Property, in the whole, or half, or third part, to have in such their Houses of the said High Jurisdiction, or above-said Fiefs, which they shall be obliged to name to our Bailiffs and Seneschals, every one in his Precinct, for their chief Abode, the Exercise of the said Religion, as long as they shall be resident there; and in their absence their Wives or Families which they shall answer for. We also allow them the said Exercise in their other Houses of High Jurisdiction, or above-said Fiefs of *Haubert*, as long as they shall be present there; the whole as well for themselves, their Families, Subjects, as others, who shall be desirous to go to it.

VI. In such Houses of Fief, where those of the said Religion shall not possess the said High Jurisdiction

Henry III. dictiō of Fief *de Haubert*, they shall only be
 1577. allow'd the said Exercise for their Families.
Pope Gre- Yet, in case any of their Friends should chance
gory XIII. to come there to the number of ten, or any
 Christning happen in haste, the Company not
 exceeding the said number of ten, they shall not
 be disquieted or prosecuted for the same. Pro-
 vided also, that the said Houses are neither si-
 tuated within Cities, Towns, or Villages be-
 longing to Catholick Lords, High Justicers,
 other than us, in which the said Catholick Lords
 have their Houses; in which case, those of the
 said Religion shall not be allow'd to perform the
 said Exercise in the said Cities, Towns, and
 Villages, without Leave and Permission of the
 said Lords High Justicers, and no otherwise.

VII. We also allow those of the said Reli-
 gion to perform and continue the Exercise there-
 of in all the Cities and Towns, where it shall be
 publicly perform'd on the 17th Day of the
 present Month of *September*. However, except-
 ing such Towns as belong to Catholicks, pos-
 sess'd at present by those of the said Religion, in
 which those Exercises were not perform'd before
 the last taking up of Arms, even in the time of
 the former Peace.

VIII. Moreover, in every one of the ancient
 Bailiwicks, Seneschalships, and Governments,
 holding the Place of a Bailiwick, referring di-
 rectly, and without Mediation to the Courts of
 Parliament, we ordain, That in the *Suburbs of*
one City, there being several Cities in the Baili-
 wick, or for want of Cities, in a Town or Vil-
 lage, the Exercise of the said Religion shall be
 allow'd for all Comers.

IX. Forbidding all those of the said Religion,
 most expressly to perform any Exercise thereof,
 either, ~~9~~ ~~to~~ Ministry, Regulation, Discipline,
 or

or publick Institution of Children, and others, in this our said Kingdom and Territories under our Obedience, in whatever relates to Religion, excepting in the Places above granted and allow'd.

Henry III.
1577-
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

X. As also to perform any Exercise of the said Religion in our Court and Attendance, nor within ten Leagues about it, nor in our Lands and Countries beyond the Mounts, nor also in our City, Provostship, and Vice-County of *Paris*, nor within ten Leagues round about the same; the which ten Leagues we have limited, and do limit to the following Places; *Meaux*, and the Suburbs; *Meleun*, and the Suburbs; a League beyond *Chartres*, under *Mont-le-bery*; *Dourdan*, and the Suburbs; *Rambouillet*, *Houdan*, and the Suburbs; a long League beyond *Meulan*, *Tigni*, *Meru*, and *S. Leu de Serans*. In all which Places we do not allow any Exercise of the said Religion. Nevertheless those of the said Religion, living in the said Lands and Countries beyond the Mounts, and in our said City, Provostship, and Vice-County of *Paris*, extended as above-said, shall neither be disturb'd in their Houses, nor constrain'd to do any thing on the account of Religion contrary to their Consciences, provided always they behave themselves according to the Rules prescribed in our present Edict.

XI. We do injoin all Preachers, Readers, and others, who speak in Publick, not to use any Words, Discourses, and Expressions, tending to excite the People to Sedition; but, on the contrary, to content and behave themselves modestly, saying nothing but what may tend to the Instruction and Edification of the Hearers, and to maintain the Peace and Tranquillity by us establish'd in our said Kingdom, on the Pains mention'd in our precedent Edicts; commanding

Henry III. ing our Attorney-Generals, and other our Of-
 1577. ficers, most expressly to see the same perform'd.

Pope Gre-
 gory XIII.

XII. Those of the said Religion shall be no-
 wise constrain'd, neither shall they remain bound
 upon the account of the Abjurations, Promises,
 and Oaths, heretofore made or taken by them,
 or Security by them given upon the account of
 the said Religion; and shall never be molested
 or troubled for the same in any kind whatever.

XIII. They shall be obliged to keep and ob-
 serve the Festivals establish'd in the Catholick,
 Apostolick and *Roman* Church; neither shall
 they be allow'd on such Days to labour, work,
 sell, or expose Goods to sale in open Shop;
 neither shall the Shambles be open'd on such
 Days, in which the Use of Flesh is forbidden.

XIV. No Books shall be allow'd to be sold
 in our Kingdom, Countries, Territories, and
 Lordships under our Obedience, without being
 first examined by our Officers residing there;
 and such as are written in relation to the said
 pretended Reform'd Religion, by the Chambers
 hereafter by us ordain'd in every Parliament,
 to judge of the Causes and Differences of those
 of the said Religion; prohibiting most expressly
 the Impression, Publication, and Sale of all de-
 famatory Books, Libels, and Writings, on the
 Pains contain'd in our Ordinances; injoining all
 our Judges and Officers to have an Eye upon
 the same.

XV. We also order, That no Difference or
 Distinction shall be made upon account of Re-
 ligion; to receive Scholars to be instructed in
 the Universities, Colleges, and Schools; and
 the Sick and poor into the Hospitals, &c. and
 publick Alms-houses.

XVI. Those of the said pretended Reform'd
 Religion, shall be obliged to observe the Laws
 of

of the Catholick, Apostolick, *Roman Church*, Henry III, received in this our Kingdom, in respect to ^{1577.} Pope Gre-
Marriages contracted, or to be contracted, as to gory XII.
the Degrees of Consanguinity and Affinity, to
avoid the Debates and Suits that might be
thereby occasion'd, to the Ruin of most of the
best Families of the same, and the Dissolution
of the Bonds of Friendship that are acquired by
Marriage, and Alliance among our Subjects.

XVII. Those of the said Religion shall be obliged to pay the Rights of Entrance, as is usual for the Places and Offices they shall be admitted into, without being obliged to assist at any Ceremonies contrary to their said Religion. And being called to their Oath, they shall only be obliged to hold up their Hand to swear, and promise to God that they will speak the Truth, without being bound to take a Dispensation of the Oath by them taken, in passing the Contracts and Bonds.

XVIII. It is also our Will and Pleasure, that all those of the said pretended Reform'd Religion, and others who have been engaged in their Party, of what Degree, Quality, or Condition soever, shall be bound and constrain'd, by all due and reasonable Ways, and under the Penalties contain'd in our precedent Edicts made upon this Subject, to pay and acquit the Tithes due to Curates, and other Ecclesiasticks, and to all others to whom they may belong, according to the Use and Custom of Places.

XIX. And in order the better to reunite the Wills of our Subjects, which is our Intention, and to remove all Cause of Complaint for the future, we do declare all those of the said pretended Reform'd Religion, and others our aforesaid Subjects that have been engaged in their Party,
Capable to hold and exercise all Estates, Dignities,

Henry III. *Offices, and publick Employments whatever, Royal-*
 1577. *ties and Lordships, and such as belong to the*
 Pope Gre- *Cities of our Kingdoms, Countries, Territories*
 gory XIII. *and Lordships under our Obedience, and to be*
 { admitted and received into the same, without
 Distinction, and without being obliged to take
 any Oath, or lie under any Obligation, but well
 and faithfully to discharge their Employments,
 Dignities, Places and Offices, and to observe
 the Ordinances. And when any Vacancy of
 the Employments, Places, and Offices within
 our Disposall shall happen, they shall be by us
 reimplaced, without Distinction of Religion, by
 able Persons, as we shall think proper for the
 good of our Service. We also allow those of
 the said Religion to be admitted and received
 in all Councils, Deliberations, Assemblies and
 Functions depending on the above-said Things,
 and that they shall neither be rejected, or debar'd
 the Enjoyment thereof on account of the said
 Religion.

XX. We also order, that for the interring of
 the Dead of those of the said Religion, within
 all the Cities and Places of this Realm, our
 Officers and Magistrates shall speedily provide a
 convenient Place in every Town for that end.
 The which we enjoin our said Officers to do ;
 and to take care that no Scandals may be com-
 mitted at the said Burials.

XXI. And to the end that Justice may be
 done and administred to all our Subjects, with-
 out Partiality, Hatred, or Favour, which is one
 of the principal Means to maintain them in
 Peace and Concord ; We have and do ordain,
 that in every one of our Courts of Parliament of
Paris, Rouen, Dijon, and Rennes, there shall
 be a Chamber establish'd ; compos'd for that of
 the Parliament of *Paris*, of a President and
 sixteen

sixteen Counsellors: For that of *Rouen*, of a Pre-^{Henry III.} sident and twelve Counsellors; and for those of ^{1577.} *Dijon* and *Rennes*, of one President and ten ^{Pope Gre-} Counsellors; which said Presidents and Coun-^{gory XIII.} sellors shall be elected and taken by us out of the number of those of the said Courts.

XXII. And as for the Courts of Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, *Grenoble* and *Aix*, a Chamber shall also be establish'd in every one of them, compos'd of two Presidents, the one a Catholick, and the other of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion; and twelve Counsellors, of which eight shall be *Catholicks*, and the other four of the said Religion. Which Catholick Presidents and Counsellors shall be by us elected, and nominated out of the Number of the Presidents and Counsellors of the said Courts. And as to those of the said Religion, such shall be employ'd, as shall be found at this very time in possession of the said Offices in the said Courts. And in such places where their Number shall not be sufficient, we shall erect other Offices, as much as shall be necessary to fill up the aforesaid Number, with the same Salaries, Honours, Authorities and Prerogatives as the others of our said Courts, for Persons of the said Religion.

XXIII. A Chamber shall also be establish'd for the Jurisdiction of our Court of Parliament of *Thoulouse*, compos'd as the others of two Presidents, the one a Catholick, and the other of the said Religion; and of twelve Counsellors, eight Catholicks and the other four of the said Religion. Which Catholicks shall be by us chosen out of our other Courts of Parliament, and out of the great Council: And as for those of the said Religion, such shall be employ'd there as shall be found still at this present time provided with Offices in the said Parliament of *Thoulouse*,

Henry III. besides which a sufficient Number shall be created to supply the said Chamber, as is above said, for the others. Which Chamber being thus compos'd, shall be by us sent into the City of——

^{1577.}
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

And as for that of *Dauphiné*, it shall sit six Months in our City of *Grenoble*, and the other six Months in such other City as we shall hereafter order.

XXIV. The said Chambers compos'd as abovesaid, and establish'd in all our said Parliaments, shall take cognizance, and judge sovereignly and definitively, by Decree, exclusively to all others, of Suits and Differences mov'd or to be mov'd: In which Suits those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, and others that have been engag'd in their Party, shall be Principals or Warrantees, either Plaintiffs or Defendants in all Causes, Civil or Criminal, whether the said Processes be by Writ or Verbal Appeals, in case the said Parties like it so, and one of them requires it before any Plea in the Cause, in respect to Suits to be commenc'd.

XXV. It is also our Pleasure by way of Provision, until we have otherwise ordained it, that in all Processes mov'd, or to be mov'd, in which those of the said Religion shall stand as Plaintiffs or Defendants, Principals or Warrantees in Civil Causes, in which our Officers of Presidial Seats have power to judge sovereignly, and definitively; they shall be allowed to demand that two of those of the Chamber, where the said Cause is to be try'd, shall abstain from the Judgment of the same; who, without asking for any reason, shall be oblig'd to abstain in this case: Notwithstanding the Ordinance, by which the Judges cannot be excepted against without a just cause: Besides that, their Challenges against others shall be deemed good and valid. And in
Criminal

Criminal Matters, in which they also judge so-
 vereignly, the accus'd of the said Religion shall
 be allow'd to demand, that three of the Judges
 should abstain from the Judgment of their Pro-
 cess, without shewing cause. And the Provosts
 of the Marshals of *France*, Vice-Bailiffs, Vice-
 Seneschals, Lieutenants of the short Robe, and
 other Officers of the like Quality, shall judge ac-
 cording to the Ordinances and Rules heretofore
 given in respect to Vagabonds. And as for
 Housholders charg'd and accus'd of Provostal or
 Criminal Cases, if they be of the said Religion,
 they shall be allow'd to demand that three of the
 Presidial Judges, before whom the said Cases are
 to be try'd by the Statutes, should abstain from
 the Judgment of their Process: And they shall
 be oblig'd to abstain from the same, without
 shewing cause; unless when in the Chamber of
 the said Presidial Seats, where the said Processes
 are to be judg'd, there be two in Civil Cases,
 and three in Criminal Matters of the said Reli-
 gion; in which case it shall not be allow'd to
 except against any one without shewing cause.
 But yet we do not mean that the said Presidial
 Tribunals, Provosts, Marshals, Bailiffs, and Vice-
 Seneschals, by virtue hereof should take cogni-
 zance of the Troubles past.

Henry III.
 1577.
 Pope Gre-
 gory XIII.

XXVI. 'It is farther our Will and Pleasure,
 that our most dearly beloved Brother the King
 of *Navarre*, our most dearly beloved Cousin the
 Prince of *Condé*, as well as all other Lords,
 Knights, Gentlemen, and others, of what Qua-
 lity and Condition soever of the said Religion,
 and others that have been engag'd in their Party,
 shall be restor'd and effectually preserv'd in the
 Possession of their Governments, Places, Estates,
 and Royal Offices, which they enjoy'd before
 the 24th of *August*, 1572. the said to hold and

Henry III. to use in the said form and manner, as other
 1577. Governors and Officers of this our same King-
 Pope Gre- dom, without being oblig'd to take new Letters
 gory XIII. Patent; all Decrees and Judgments given a-
 gainst them, and Letters Patent obtain'd by o-
 thers for the said Employments notwithstanding.
 As also they shall re-enter in possession of all
 and singular their Estates, Rights, Names, Dues,
 and Actions, all Judgments and Sentences given
 upon the account of the said Troubles notwith-
 standing. The which Decrees, Judgments, Let-
 ters Patent, and all that may have follow'd, we
 have to that end declar'd, and do declare null,
 and of no effect and value.

XXVII. Not intending however that those of
 the said Religion, and others that have been en-
 gag'd in their Party, who have *resign'd* their
 Employments and Offices by virtue of our Let-
 ters Patent, or of the late King our most honour'd
 Lord and Brother, whom God absolvé, should
 recover the same, and re-enter into the Pos-
 session thereof; reserving to them however all
 Actions against the Possessors and Titularies of
 the said Offices, for the Payment of the Price
 agreed on between them, upon the account of
 the said Resignations. And as for those who
 have been constrain'd by particular Persons, by
 Fact and Force to resign their said Employments
 and Offices, we do grant them and their Heirs
 to sue for the same by Law, in a civil manner,
 both against those that have used the said Force,
 and against their Heirs and Successors.

XXVIII. And as for those of the said Reli-
 gion, and others who have been engag'd in their
 Party, and had the Grant of the said Offices be-
 fore the 24th of *August*, 1572. and were not yet
 receiv'd into the same: It is our Will and Plea-
 sure that they be *receiv'd into the said Employ-*
ments,

ments, and that all necessary Patents should be delivered to that end. Henry III. 1577.

XXIX. It is also our Will and Pleasure, That in case any *Commander-ships of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, belonging to those of the said pretended *Reform'd Religion*, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, shall be found seiz'd by Authority of Justice, or otherwise, barely upon account and pretence of the Troubles, and they any wise dispossest'd of the same, they shall be immediately restor'd to the said Commanders, and they again put into the same Possessions of the said *Commanderships*, as they were before the 24th of *August*, 1572. Pope Gregory XIII.

XXX. The Outcries and publick Sales of Inheritances, against which a Decree is prosecuted, shall be perform'd in, and at the usual Hours and Places, if possible, according to our Ordinances, or in the publick Market-places, in case there be a Market in the Place where the said Heritages lie: And in case there be none, it shall be done in the next Market-place belonging to the Jurisdiction of the Court, where the Judgment is to be pass'd. And the Paper of Notice shall be affix'd to the Post of the said Market-places, and at the Entrance of the Auditory of the said Place. And in so doing the said Publications shall be good and valuable, and they shall proceed to the Interposition of a Decree, without regard to the Nullities that might be alledg'd in that respect.

XXXI. The *Acquisitions of Church-lands* made by those of the said pretended *Reform'd Religion*, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, without our Authority, shall be void, and of no effect: And therefore we ordain, and it is our Will and Pleasure, that the said Ecclesiasticks shall be restor'd without delay, and con-

Henry III
 1577.
 Pope Gre
 gory XIII
 firm'd into the real and actual Possession and Enjoyment of the Estates thus alienated, without being oblig'd to pay back the Price of the said Sales: the said Contracts of Sale notwithstanding The which to that end we have cancel'd and revok'd as null, saving a Redress to the Purchasers, against such as it may concern. And in order to the Reimbursement of the Purchasers of the said Lands, for the Money by them really and truly disburs'd, we will grant our Letters Patent for Leave to those of the said Religion, to impose and equal upon themselves the Sums to which the said Sales may amount, without the Purchasers being allow'd to pretend any Action of Damage or Interest, for want of enjoyment, but shall rest satisfy'd with the Reimbursement of the Money laid out by them, for the Price of the said Acquisitions, abating upon the said Price, the Fruits gather'd and receiv'd by them, in case the said Sale be adjudg'd to have been made at an unreasonable and too low rate.

XXXII. All *Disinheritations*, or *Privations*, either by way of disposing among living Persons, or by Wills, barely out of hatred, or upon account of Religion, shall not be allow'd, neither for the time past, nor for the future, among our Subjects. Yet notwithstanding all military Wills made, during the said present and precedent Troubles on either side, shall be valid, and shall hold according to the Disposition of the Law.

XXXIII. The *Disorders* and *Excesses* committed on the 24th of *August*, and the following Days in consequence of the said Day, in our good City of *Paris*, and other Cities and Parts of our said Kingdom, were done to our great Grief and Sorrow. And therefore as a singular Demonstration of our Goodness and Kindness towards our Subjects, we do declare the Widows and
 Children

Children of those that were kill'd on the said Days, Henry III. 1577. Pope Gregory XIII. in any part of our said Kingdom, free from contributing towards the Impost or Taxes that shall be laid for the *Ban* and *Arriere-ban*, if their Husbands or Fathers were Nobles: Or if their said Husbands or Fathers were not Gentlemen, and consequently liable to pay the * Tax: We for the same Considerations discharge the said Widows and Children of all Taxes and Imposts, the whole, for and during the Term of six Years next coming: Forbidding all our Officers, every one in his Precinct, to comprehend them in the same, contrary to our present Will and Intention.

* *A heavy Tax upon such as are not Gentlemen.*

XXXIV. We likewise declare all *Sentences*, Judgments, Decrees, Proceedings, Seizures, Sales and Orders, made and given against those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, whether alive or dead, since the Death of the late King *Henry*, our most honour'd Lord and Father, upon the account of the said Religion, Tumults, and Troubles happen'd since, together with the Execution of the said Judgments and Sentences from this very time to be raz'd, void and null, as we do hereby raze, revoke and annul the same. And order the same to be raz'd and taken out of the Registers of the Rolls of the Courts, as well sovereign as inferior: As also our Pleasure is, that all Marks, Signs and Monuments of the said Executions, Books and Acts, defamatory to their Persons, Memories, and Posterities, should be remov'd and defac'd. And that all Places demolished or raised on that account, shall be restor'd such as they are, to the true Owners thereof, to enjoy the same, and dispose of them as they shall think fit. And we have generally cancel'd, revok'd, and annul'd all Proceedings and Informations made for any Enterprizes, pretended Crimes of High-Treason, or others; the said

Henry III. said Proceedings, Decrees and Judgments containing Reunion, Incorporation and Confiscation; notwithstanding, willing that those of the said Religion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, should be restored to the real and actual Possession of all and every their Estates.

1577.
Pope Gregory XIII.

XXXV. And whereas by virtue of our afore-said Declaration, all Decrees and Judgments given against the late Lord of *Chatillon*, Admiral of *France*, and the Execution of the same, remain void and of no effect, as things never done nor happen'd: We, in consequence of the said Declaration, order that all the said Decrees, Judgments, Proceedings and Acts made against the said Lord of *Chatillon*, be cancelled and taken out of the Rolls, as well of our Courts of Parliament, as of all other Jurisdictions: And that the Memory of the said Admiral shall be untainted; and that his Children shall remain in full Possession of their Honours and Estates, in that respect, notwithstanding the said Decrees, importing Reunion and Incorporation of the said Estates, to the demesne of our Crown, of which we will cause a larger and more particular Declaration to be given to the said Children, if necessary.

XXXVI. We will have the same done in relation to the *Sieurs de Montgomery, Montbrun, Briquemaut and Cavaignes*.

XXXVII. We forbid the making of any *Processions*, either for the Death of our late Cousin the Prince of *Condé*, or for what happen'd on St. *Bartholomew's* Day, 1572. and all other Acts that might refresh the Memory of the Troubles.

XXXVIII. All *Proceedings* made, *Judgments* and *Decrees* given against those of the said Religion bearing Arms, either absent from our said Kingdom, or retir'd into any Cities and Countries of the same, held by them, but not upon account

count of Religion and the Troubles; together ^{Henry III.} with all Nonfuits, Prescriptions, as well legal, ^{1577.} conventional, as customary; all feodal Seizures ^{Pope Gregory XIII.} accrued during the present or precedent Troubles, shall be deemed as not perform'd, happen'd, nor granted, and as such we have and do declare them to be; have and do annihilate them, without any Redress to the Parties, but they shall be restor'd to the same Condition in which they were before, notwithstanding the said Decrees, and the Execution thereof; and the Possession of the same, shall be restor'd to them as they had it on the said 24th of *August*, 1572. What is above-written, shall also hold good for others who have been engag'd in the Party of those of the said Religion, since the last taking up of Arms, or that have absented from our said Kingdom upon the account of the Troubles, and for the minor Children of those of the Quality above-said, who died during the said Troubles. Restoring the Parties to the same Condition, in which they were before, without paying Charges or being oblig'd to consign the Fines.

XXXIX. All Prisoners that are detain'd, either by Authority of Justice, or otherwise, even upon the Galleys, on account of the present or precedent Troubles, shall be freed and set at liberty on both sides, without paying any Ransom: Cancelling and annulling all past Obligations on that Subject, discharging the Securities thereof; exhibiting and forbidding most expressly all such, in whose keeping the said Prisoners are, to use any Force or Violence against them, to abuse or misuse them any wise in their Persons, on pain of being severely punish'd and chastis'd. However not meaning that the Ransoms that have already been disburs'd and paid by those who were Prisoners of War only, should be re-demanded
of

Henry III. of those that have receiv'd them. And as to
 1577. what relates to the Differences concerning the
 Pope Gre- said Ransoms of those that have been made Pri-
 gory XIII. soners on both sides, during the said Troubles,
 the Cognizance and Judgment thereof is re-
 serv'd, as we do reserve it to us, and to our
 Person, forbidding the Parties to sue for the same
 any where else, but before us: And all our Of-
 ficers and Magistrates to take the least cognizance
 thereof.

XL. And as to what has been *done* or *taken*
without Hostility, or in an hostile manner, con-
 trary to the publick or particular Orders of the
 Chiefs, who had any Authority to command in
 the Commonalties or Provinces, it shall be law-
 ful to sue for it, according to the common Prac-
 tice of the Law.

XLI. It is also our Will and Pleasure, that all
Crimes and *Offences* committed between Persons
 of the same Party, in times of Troubles, Truces,
 and Suspension of Arms, shall be punish'd unless
 in Actions commanded by the Chiefs of either
 Part, according to the Necessity, Law, and Or-
 der of War: And as for all Raisings and Exac-
 tions of Money, bearing of Arms, and other
 warlike Exploits, done by private Authority,
 and without being warranted so to do; the Per-
 sons having so done, shall be prosecuted accord-
 ing to Law.

XLII. The Goods that shall be found in be-
 ing, and that shall have been taken by way of
 Hostility, shall be restor'd to the right Owners,
 in case they be, and are found to be at the time
 of the Publication of the present Edict, in the
 Possession of those that have taken them, or of
 their Heirs, without paying any thing for the
 Restitution thereof. And where the said Goods
 shall have been sold or alienated by Authority
 of

of Justice, or by Commission or publick Order, Henry III. belonging either to Catholicks or to those of the said Religion, they shall have leave to redeem ^{1577.} Pope Gregory XIII. them, returning the Price thereof to the Purchasers; declaring that what was perpetrated at *Paris* and elsewhere, on the 24th of *August*, 1572. and the following Days in consequence of that, was no Act of Hostility.

XLIII. As to what relates to the *Revenues of the Immoveables*, every one shall retake possession of his Houses and Estates, and shall reciprocally enjoy the Fruits or Products of the present Year, that shall not have been taken or gather'd on the 17th Day of this present Month of *September*. Even the Ecclesiasticks: All Seizures and Hindrances made to the contrary, during the said present and precedent Troubles notwithstanding. As also every one shall enjoy the Arrears of the Rents that shall not have been taken by us, or by our Orders and Permissions, or by Order of Justice, or by Command of our said Brother and Cousin, the King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Condé*, or by others authoriz'd by them.

XLIV. All *Titles, Papers, Instructions, and Instruments that have been seized*, shall be return'd on both sides, to the right Owners, altho' the said Papers, or the Castles and Houses in which they were kept, have been taken and seiz'd either by our special Commissions, or by Order of the Governors and Lieutenants-General of our Provinces, or by the Authority of the Chiefs of the other Party, or under any pretence whatever.

XLV. Those of the said Religion shall not be overcharg'd for the future, *nor oppress'd with any ordinary or extraordinary Charges, more than the Catholicks*, and according to the proportion of their Estates and Substance; and it shall be law-
ful

Henry III. ful for ſuch as ſhall think themſelves over-
 1577. burthen'd, to ſeek for a Redreſs before the
 Pope Gre- Judges to whom thoſe Matters ſhall be re-
 gory XIII. ferr'd. And all our Subjects of what Religion
 or Quality ſoever, ſhall be indifferently diſ-
 charg'd of the Charges that have been impos'd
 on both ſides, on thoſe who were abſent, and
 did not enjoy their Eſtates by reaſon of the
 Troubles, but ſtill without reſtitution of the
 Fruits that ſhall have been employ'd for the
 Payment of the ſaid Charges.

XLVI. Neither ſhall thoſe of the ſaid Reli-
 gion, and others who have been engag'd in their
 Party, nor the Catholicks who lived in the Cities
 and Places by them detain'd and occupy'd, and
 who have paid Contributions to them, be liable
 to be ſued for the Payment of the Taxes, Sub-
 ſidies, Grants, Increaſes, Aſſeſſments, Waſtes,
 Reparations, and other Impoſitions and Subſi-
 dies accruing and impos'd ſince the 24th of *Auguſt*, 1572. until now, either by our Orders, or
 by the Advice and Deliberations of the Gover-
 nors and Eſtates of the Provinces, Courts of Par-
 liament, and others; which we have and do diſ-
 charge them of, commanding the Treasuſers of
France, Generals of our Exchequers, Receivers-
 General and Particular, their Clerks and Depu-
 ties, and other Intendants and Commiſſioners of
 our ſaid Exchequers, neither to ſue, moleſt, or
 diſquiet them for the ſame, directly or indirectly,
 in any wiſe whatever.

XLVII. *The Forces and Garifons* that are or
 ſhall be in Houſes, Places, Cities and Caſtles be-
 longing to our Subjects, ſhall march out of them
 immediately after the Publication of the preſent
 Ediſt, and leave the free and abſolute Enjoy-
 ment thereof to the true Owners, as they enjoy'd
 them formerly; notwithstanding all the Preten-
 ſions

sions of Right that might be alledg'd by those Henry III.
 that detain them; which Pretensions they shall 1577.
 be free to prosecute according to the common Pope Gre-
 Course of Law, after having quitted the said gory XIII.
 Possession, which we will have effected, espe-
 cially in respect to the Benefices the Titularies
 shall have been dispossessed of.

XLVIII. *Free Commerce and Passage* shall be
 restor'd through all the Cities, Towns, Villages,
 Bridges and Passages of our Kingdom, Countries,
 Lands and Lordships under our Command and
 Protection, both by Sea and Land, Rivers and
 Fresh-waters, as they were before the present and
 precedent Troubles; and all new Tolls and Sub-
 sidies impos'd by any Authority but our own,
 during the said Troubles, shall be remov'd.

XLIX. All *Places, Cities and Provinces* of
 our said Kingdom, Territories, Lands and Lord-
 ships under our Obedience, shall use and enjoy
 the same Privileges, Immunities, Liberties, Fran-
 chises, Fairs, Markets, Jurisdictions and Seats of
 Justice, as they did before the present and pre-
 cedent Troubles; all Letters to the contrary,
 and the removing of any of the said Tribunals
 notwithstanding; provided those things have on-
 ly been done on account of the Troubles, the
 which Tribunals shall be restor'd and re-estab-
 lished in the Cities and Places where they were
 before.

L. In such *Cities as have been dismantled*, du-
 ring the past and present Troubles, it shall be
 lawful for the Inhabitants to rebuild and repair
 the Ruins and Dismantlings of the same with
 our leave, at their own Cost and Charges.

LI. Such of the said pretended *Reform'd* Re-
 ligion, and others who have been engag'd in
 their Party, which had taken to *Farm* before the
 present Troubles, any Registries or other De-
 mesne

Henry III. mesne and Rights to us belonging, which they
 1577. have not been able to enjoy, by reason of the
 Pope Gre- said Troubles, shall remain discharg'd, as we do
 gory XIII. hereby discharge them of what they have not re-
 ceiv'd of the said Farms, since the 24th of *August*,
 1572. as also of what they have paid without
 fraud in any Places not belonging to the Receipt
 of our Revenues ; all Obligations pass'd by them
 upon the same notwithstanding.

LII. And to the end that no body may doubt
 of the good Intention of our said Brother the
 King of *Navarre*, and of our said Cousin the
 Prince of *Condé* : We have said and declar'd, and
 do say and declare, that we hold and repute
 them our good Kinsmen, faithful Subjects and
 Servants.

LIII. As also all the Lords, Knights, Gentle-
 men, Officers, and other Inhabitants of Cities,
 Corporations, Villages, and other Places of our
 said Kingdom and Countries under our Com-
 mand, who have follow'd, succour'd and favour'd
 them in any part whatever for our good and loyal
 Subjects, declaring all Decrees, Informations and
 Proceedings made and given against them on ac-
 count of the said Troubles, void and of no effect,
 as things never done nor happen'd ; willing the
 same to be rais'd out of the Registers of the
 Chief Clerk's Offices, both of our Courts of Par-
 liament, and other Jurisdictions, where they have
 been recorded.

LIV. We also declare, that we hold and repute
 our Cousin Duke *John Casimir*, for our good
 Neighbour, Kinsman and Friend.

LV. We do also acquit and discharge our
 said Brother and Cousin the King of *Navarre*,
 and Prince of *Condé*, as well as all the Lords,
 Knights, Gentlemen, Officers, Corporations of
 Cities and Communities, and all others that have
 abetted

abetted and succour'd them, their Heirs and Successors, for all Sums taken and rais'd by them or their Orders, out of our Offices of Receipt and Revenues, to whatever Sum or Sums, they may amount, as well as out of Cities, Corporations, and from particular Persons, Rents, Revenues, Plate, Sales of Estates, Goods, both ecclesiastical and others: Forests belonging to us, or others: Fines, Booties, Ransoms, or other Sums taken by them, upon the account of the present and precedent Troubles; and that neither they, nor any that have been employ'd by them for the raising of the said Sums, or that have given and furnish'd them by their Ordinances, shall any wise be liable to be call'd to an account for the same, either at present, or for the future: And that both they and their Clerks shall remain acquitted for all the Management and Administration of the said Sums, only producing for a full Discharge within four Months after the Publication of our present Edict, given in our Court of Parliament at *Paris*, Acquittances duly drawn up by our said Brother and Cousin the King of *Navarre*, and Prince of *Condé*, or by such as shall have been by them commissioned for the audit and closing of their Accounts, or from the Corporations of the Cities that have been employ'd and intrusted during the said Troubles. They shall also remain acquitted and discharg'd for all Acts of Hostility, Levies, and Marching of Soldiers, Coining and Rating of Monies made according to the Order of the said Chiefs, casting and taking of Artillery and Stores, both out of our Magazine, and from particular Persons; making of Powder and Saltpeter, taking, fortifying, dismantling and demolishing of Cities, Castles, Towns; Enterprizes upon the same, burning and demolishing

Henry III.
1577.
Pope Gregory XIII.

Henry III. of Churches and Houses, establishing of Courts
 1577. of Justice, Judgments and Executions of the
 Pope Gre- same, either in Civil or Criminal Causes, Civil
 gory XIII. Government and Regulations made among them-
 selves, Voyages, Intelligences, Negotiations,
 Treaties and Contracts made with all Foreign
 Princes and Communities, introducing of the
 said Foreigners into the Cities and other Parts
 of this our Kingdom, and generally for all that
 has been done, manag'd and negotiated during
 the present or past Troubles, since the Death of
 our late Lord and Father, by those of the pre-
 tended *Reform'd* Religion, and others that have
 been engag'd in their Party, although it be not
 particularly express'd and specify'd.

LVI. And those of the said Religion, and o-
 thers that have adhered to them, *shall give over
 and desist from this time forward, from all Prac-
 tices, Leagues and Intelligences they hold out of
 our said Kingdom;* as also all other our Subjects
 that might have held any. And all Leagues,
 Associations, Fellowships contracted, or to be
 contracted, under any pretence whatever, to
 the Prejudice of our present Edict, shall be can-
 cel'd and annul'd, as we do cancel and annul them,
 forbidding our Subjects most expressly to make
 any Assessments, or raise Money without our
 Leave, to make any Fortifications, to list Men,
 to make Congregations and Assemblies, other than
 such as are allow'd them by our said present E-
 dict, and without Arms: Which we do prohi-
 bit and forbid them on pain of severe Punish-
 ment, as Contemners and Infraeters of our Com-
 mands and Orders.

LVII. All Prizes taken both by Sea and
 Land, by virtue of the Licences and Warrants
 given, which have been judg'd by the Judges
 of the Admiralty, and other Commissaries de-
 puted

puted to that end by those of the said Religion, ^{Henry III.} shall remain dormant under the Benefit of our ^{1577.} present Edict, for which no Prosecution shall be ^{Pope Gre-} made, neither shall the Captains, their Securities, ^{gory XIII.} and the said Judges, Officers, and others, be call'd to an account for the same, nor molested in any kind whatever: All Letters of Mark and Seizures depending, and not judg'd, notwithstanding; of which we will have them absolutely discharg'd and releas'd.

LVIII. It is also our Will and Pleasure, *That the Children of such as have retir'd out of our said Kingdom, since the Death of the late King Henry, our most honour'd Lord and Father, upon account of Religion and Troubles, altho' the said Children are born out of our said Kingdom, shall be acknowledg'd as true Natives of France, and actual Inhabitants thereof; and such we have and do declare them to be, without their being oblig'd to take any Letters of Naturalization, or other Provisions from us besides the present Edict: All Ordinances thereunto contrary notwithstanding, the which we have and do derogate from.*

LIX. We also order, that immediately after the Publication of this our Edict, all Forces and Armies both by Sea and Land, shall disband and retire. Those of the said Religion, and such as have been engag'd in their Party, shall be oblig'd to remove all Garisons out of the Cities, Places, Castles and Houses they are possess'd of, belonging either to us, to the Clergy, or other private Persons; to quit, restore, and surrender them in full Liberty, as they were in full Peace before the present and precedent Troubles. *N. B.* Nevertheless, whereas several private Persons have receiv'd and suffer'd during the Troubles, so many Injuries and Damages in their Estates and

Henry III. Persons, that it will be difficult for them to lose
 1577. the Remembrance thereof so soon as it should be
 Pope Gre- requisite for the Execution of our Intentions ; we
 gory XIII. being desirous to avoid all Inconveniences that
 might arise from thence, until the Heart-burn-
 ings and Animosities are allay'd, have thought
 fit to give in keeping to those of the said pre-
 tended *Reform'd* Religion, for the Time and
 Term of six Years, the following Cities, *viz.* in
Languedoc, those of *Montpelier* and *Aiguesmortes* :
 In *Dauphiné*, *Nyons* and *Serre*, City and Castle:
 In *Provence*, *Seyne*, *la Grandtour*, and the Circuit
 thereof : In *Guienne*, *Perigueux*, *la Reolle*, and
 the *Mas of Verdun* ; which Cities our said Bro-
 ther and Cousin the King of *Navarre*, and Prince
 of *Condé*, and twenty Gentlemen of the said
 Religion, or others that have been engag'd in
 their Party, who shall be by us nominated,
 besides such as shall be committed for the Guard
 of the said Cities and Castles, shall swear and
 promise, one and for the whole, for themselves,
 and for those of the said Religion, and others
 of their Party, well and faithfully for us to keep
 them ; and at the Expiration of the aforesaid
 Term of six Years, to reckon from the Day and
 Date of the present Edict, to redeliver them
 into the hands of such as shall be by us deputed,
 in the same condition they now are in, without
 the least Innovation or Alteration, and without
 the least Delay or Difficulty, upon any pretence
 whatever ; at the end of which Term, the Exer-
 cise of the said Religion shall be continu'd there,
 as while in their Possession : Nevertheless it is
 our Will and Pleasure, That in them all Clergy-
 men shall freely return, perform divine Service
 in all Liberty, and enjoy their Estates ; and like-
 wise all the Catholick Inhabitants of the said
 Cities. The which Clergymen and other Inha-
 bitants,

bitants, our said Brother and Cousin, and other Lords, together with the Governors of the said Cities and Garisons, shall take into their Protection and Safeguard, to the end that they may not be disturbed in the said divine Service, molested nor disquieted in their Persons, and in the Enjoyment of their Estates; but on the contrary, restor'd and re-established into the full Possession of the same: Willing moreover, that our Judges shall be also re-establish'd into the said Cities, and the Administration of Justice restor'd, as before.

Henry III.
1577.
Pope Gregory XIII.

LX. Forbidding strictly all our Subjects, of what Quality or Condition soever, to form any Enterprizes or private Conspiracies to surprize the said Cities given in keeping to those of the said Religion, or to take or seize any other Cities, Castles, and Places of our said Kingdom, and Territories thereunto belonging, on pain of being punish'd and chastis'd as Infractioners of the Peace, and Disturbers of the Publick Quiet.

LXI. *No Governors or Garisons shall be put by us into the Cities at present in possession of those of the said Religion,* which are to be quitted by them, unless they have always had such, and even in the Reign of the late King *Henry*, our said Lord and Father. Likewise, desiring to ease our Subjects in all our Cities, as much as in us lies, it is our Will and Pleasure, That the Governors, Captains and Soldiers, that have been put in Garison there, shall be remov'd out of the same, except out of such as are Frontiers of our said Kingdom, which are fit to be kept there for the Defence and Safety thereof. Neither shall any other Garisons be kept in the Cities, Castles, Houses and Estates, belonging particularly to our Subjects, than such as used to be kept there in time of Peace.

Henry III. LXII. And to the end that our Justices, Officers, and other our Subjects, may be clearly, and with all certainty, inform'd of our Will and Intention; and to move all Ambiguities and Doubts that might arise on account of the precedent Edicts, by reason of the Diversity of the same, we have and do hereby declare all other *precedent Edicts*, secret Articles, Letters, Declarations, Modifications, Requisitions, Restrictions, Interpretations, Decrees, Registers, as well such as are secret, as other Deliberations by us made in our Courts of Parliament, and elsewhere, concerning the Case of Religion, and the Troubles happen'd in our said Kingdom, to be void, and of no effect and value: To which, and to the Derogatories therein contain'd, we have by this our Edict derogated, and do derogate, and from this time, as well as then, cancel, revoke, and annul the same; declaring expressly, That this our Edict shall be firm and inviolable, kept and observed by our said Justicers, and Officers, as well as by our other Subjects, without minding or regarding whatever may be contrary, or derogating to the same.

LXIII. And for the better Assurance of the maintaining and Observation, we desire to have of the same, it is our Will and Pleasure, That all our Governors and Lieutenant-Generals of our Provinces, Bailiffs, Seneschals, and other common Judges of the Cities of this our said Kingdom, immediately upon Receipt of this our said Edict, shall swear to cause it to be observed in their several Precincts; as also the Mayors, Sheriffs, Capitouls, Consuls and Jurats of Cities, annual or perpetual. Enjoining also our said Bailiffs, Seneschals, or their Lieutenants, or other Judges, to swear the chief Inhabitants of

of the said Cities, of either Religion, to the keeping and maintaining of the present Edict, immediately after the Publication of the same, putting all the Inhabitants of the said Cities under our Protection and Safeguard, to guard each other; charging them respectively and by public Acts, to be responsible for the Opposition that shall be made to our said Edict in the said Cities by the Inhabitants thereof, or to represent and deliver the said Opposers into the hands of Justice.

Henry III.
1577.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

LXIV. We also charge our trusty and well-beloved the Members of our *Courts of Parliament*, immediately upon Receipt of the present Edict, to forbear all manner of Proceedings, on pain of Nullity of the Acts they should otherwise pass, and to take the Oath above-mention'd; to cause our said Edict to be publish'd and recorded in our said Courts, according to the Form and Tenor thereof, purely and barely, without using any other Modifications, Restrictions, Declarations, or secret Registers, and without staying for any other Order or Command from us; and our Attorneys-General from them to require and prosecute forthwith without the least delay, the said Proclamation. Likewise enjoining the said Governors and Lieutenants-General of our said Provinces, to cause it immediately to be published in their several Districts, through all the Places in which it is usual in those cases: To cause it to be kept and observed, without tarrying for the Publication of our said Courts of Parliament, to the end that no Persons may plead Ignorance. And that all Acts of Hostility, Raisings of Money, Payments and Contributions due, and drawing on, Takings, Demolishings, Fortifying of Cities, Places, and

Henry III. Castles, may the sooner cease on both sides.
 1577. Declaring all such Raisings of Money, Fortifica-
 Pope Gre- tions, Demolishings, Contributions, Takings, and
 gory XIII. Forcing of Goods, and other Acts of Hostility,
 that shall be made or done after the said Publication and Verification, made by the said Governors and Lieutenants-General of our said Provinces, liable to Restitution, Punishment, and Reparation. To wit, against such as shall make use of Arms, Force, and Violence, to oppose our said Edict, hindering the Effect and Execution thereof with Death, without Hopes of Pardon or Remission. And as for other Oppositions, that shall be made without Arms, Force or Violence, they shall be punished with other corporal Inflictions, as Banishments, and the like ; according to the Nature and Exigency of the Offence, which shall be left to the Arbitration and Moderation of the Judges, to which we refer the taking the cognizance thereof. In this place, charging their Honours and Consciences to proceed therein with the Justice and Equity that is requisite, without any regard to the Difference of Persons, or Religion.

Therefore we charge and require the said Persons holding our said Courts of Parliament, Chambers of Accounts, or Exchequers, Courts of Aids, Bailiffs, Seneschals, Provosts, and others our Justices and Officers whom it may concern, or their Deputies, to cause our present Edict and Ordinance to be read, publish'd and recorded in their Courts and Jurisdictions, and the same to maintain, keep, and observe in every particular, to the end that all those that are concerned may fully and peaceably enjoy and use the Contents thereof ; ceasing and causing all Troubles and Hinderances to the contrary to cease.

cease. For such is our Will and Pleasure. In Henry III.
witness whereof we have sign'd these Presents ^{1577.}
with our own Hand; and to the end that it ^{Pope Gre-}
may be firm and lasting for ever, we have caus'd ^{gory XIII.}
our Seal to be affix'd to the same.

*Given at Poictiers in the Month of September,
in the Year of our Lord, 1577. and of our
Reign the Fourth.*

Sign'd

HENRY.

*Read likewise, Publish'd and Recorded in the
Chamber of Accounts, or Exchequer; Heard,
the same being requir'd and approv'd by the
King's Attorney-General in the same, on the
11th of October, 1577.*

Sign'd

DANES.

*Read and Publish'd by Sound of Trumpet and
Publick Cry through the Streets of the City
of Paris, Places, and Parts appointed for Cries
and Publication, by me Paquier Rossignol,
his Majesty's Crier in the City, Provostship,
and Vice-County of Paris, accompanied by
Michael Noiret, Sworn-Trumpeter to the
said Lord in the said Places, and four other
Trumpeters, on the 8th of October, 1577.*

Sign'd

ROSSIGNOL.

Henry III.

1577.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.*Secret Articles of the 17th of September, 1577.*

I. **H**IS Majesty to gratify the King of Navarre, shall allow him, besides what is granted by the General Articles to the Lord High-Justicers of the said Religion, to cause divine Service to be perform'd for all such as shall be willing to assist at it, altho' he be absent himself, in the Houses belonging to him in the following Places, viz. in the Dutchy of Vendomois, in the City of Montoire, &c.

II. His said Majesty shall likewise allow the Prince of Condé to have the said Exercise perform'd in his House of *la Ferté*, upon *Loire* and *Anguien*, tho' absent from thence himself.

III. As to the Article which mentions Bailiwicks, it has been declar'd and granted what follows. *First*, That under the Denomination of Ancient Bailiwicks, his Majesty means such as were held under the Reign of the late King Henry II. for Bailiwicks, Seneschalships, and Governments, referring directly, and without Meditation to the Courts of Parliament.

Secondly, That in Bailiwicks, and Seneschalships, in which those of the said Religion possess at this present two Cities or Towns, belonging to his said Majesty, or to Catholick Lords, High Justicers, in which they are allowed to continue the Exercise of their Religion, no other Place shall be provided for them to perform the said Exercise in, as in the other Bailiwicks of this Kingdom.

Thirdly, That his Majesty shall only provide two Cities in the Government of *Picardy*, in the Suburbs of which, those of the said Religion shall be allow'd the Exercise of their said Religion, for all the Bailiwicks, Seneschalships, and Govern-
ments

ments belonging thereunto; and in default of ^{Henry III.} Cities, they shall be allow'd two convenient ^{1577.} Towns or Villages. ^{Pope Gregory XIII.}

Fourthly, In consideration of the large Extent of the Seneschalships of *Provence* and *Poitou*, those of the said Religion are allow'd another City in every one of them, in the Suburbs of which, or in default of a City, a convenient Town or Village, they shall have the Exercise of the said Religion, besides those that shall be allow'd them by the said Article.

IV. It has also been agreed, That no Place shall be allow'd by virtue of the said Article, on the Territories belonging in proper to the Queen Mother to his Majesty, for the publick Exercise of the said Religion: Nevertheless such Gentlemen as have high Judicatures, or *Fiefs de Hautbert* in the said Territories, shall be free to enjoy and make use of the Permission that shall be allow'd them by the Edict, as elsewhere.

V. Neither shall any Place be provided in the Bailiwick of *Beaujolois*, belonging to the Duke of *Montpensier*; but the said High Justicers shall enjoy the Privilege of the Edict there, as elsewhere.

VI. A Place shall be appointed for all the Isles of *Marennnes*, and another for the Isle of *Oleron*, in which two Places those of the said Religion shall be allow'd the Exercise thereof, for all such Inhabitants of the two Isles, as shall desire to assist at it.

VII. Provision shall also be made for the County of *Messin*, and others that are under the King's Protection, as it was done by the secret Articles made with the Edict of the Year 1570.

VIII. As for the Marriage of Priests and religious Persons that have been contracted heretofore, his Majesty for divers good Reasons and

Con-

Henry III. Considerations him thereunto moving, will not
 1577. allow them to be prosecuted or troubled for the
 Pope Gre- same; upon which Subject Silence shall be im-
 gory XIII. pos'd to his said Attorney-Generals and other
 Officers. His Majesty declaring however, that
 the Children proceeding from the said Mar-
 riages, shall only succeed to the Moveables, Ac-
 quisitions and purchas'd Estates of their Fathers
 and Mothers; not willing that the said pro-
 fess'd religious Persons should be capable of a
 direct or collateral Succession. Neither will his
 Majesty allow, that those of the said Religion
 having heretofore contracted Marriages in the
 third or fourth Degree, should be molested for
 the same, or the Validity thereof call'd in que-
 stion, nor likewise the Succession taken from, or
 disputed against the Children born, or to be born,
 of the said Marriages: And in order to judge of
 the Validity of the said Marriages made and
 contracted by those of the said Religion, and to
 decide whether they are lawful or not, if the
 Person of the said Religion is Defendant, in that
 case the Judges Royal shall take cognizance of
 the Fact of the said Marriage; and he being
 Plaintiff, and the Defendant a Catholick, the
 Cognizance thereof shall belong to the Official
 and Ecclesiastical Judge; for which Letters-Pa-
 tent shall be granted by his said Majesty, to be
 verified in his said Courts of Parliament.

IX. And as to Marriages already treated of,
 either of second or other degree among those of
 the said Religion, those that shall have contracted
 Marriages in such a degree, if they apply them-
 selves to his Majesty, such Letters-Patent shall
 be granted them, as shall be necessary to hinder
 them or their Children from being prosecuted or
 molested for the same.

X. Upon what has been granted by the Ge-
 neral Articles, That in each of the Parliaments
 of *Paris, Rouen, Dijon* and *Rennes*, a Chamber
 shall be establish'd, compos'd of a President and
 a certain Number of Counsellors, taken and
 chosen out of the said Courts; it has been
 thought fit and agreed upon, in order to remove
 all cause of Jealousy from those of the said Re-
 ligion, and therein to gratify the most humble
 Petition they have made to his Majesty about it;
 that the Presidents and Counsellors shall be cho-
 sen by his said Majesty upon the Register of the
 Officers of the said Parliaments, among the most
 equitable, most peaceable, and most moderate;
 the List whereof shall be communicated to the
 Deputies of the said King of *Navarre*, and to
 those of the said Religion, who shall be near his
 Majesty, before their being ordain'd to serve in
 the said Chambers; and that in case they shall
 suspect any of them, it shall be lawful for them
 to acquaint his Majesty therewith, who shall chuse
 others in their stead.

Henry III.
 1577.
 Pope Gre-
 gory XIII.

XI. The same shall be observ'd in the Elec-
 tion of the Catholick Officers that are to serve
 in the said Chambers, that shall be establish'd in
 the Countries of *Guienne, Languedoc, Dauphiné,*
 and *Provence.*

XII. As to what relates to the Election of
 those of the said Religion, for the Offices of
 Presidents, and Counsellors that shall be erected
 by the said Edict to serve in the said Chambers,
 it has been agreed, That it shall be made by his
 Majesty upon the Attestation of the said King of
Navarre, for the first time, and without taking
 any Money for the same; and that upon any
 Vacancy, his said Majesty shall provide other ca-
 pable Persons in their room, being of the said
 Religion.

XIII.

Henry III. XIII. And whereas those of the said Religion
 1577-
 Pope Gre-
 gory XIII. have alledg'd several Reasons for which they
 suspect those of the Court of Parliament of
 Rouen, which made them very sollicitous to have
 a Chamber establish'd there, as in the Parliaments of *Bordeaux*, *Toulouse*, and *Dauphiné*; in order not to make that Parliament differ from those of *Paris*, *Dijon*, and *Rennes*, it has been granted to those of the said Religion, having any Suits depending in the said Parliament, in case they will not receive those of the Chamber, that shall be erected there for Judges, to apply themselves to his said Majesty, and Letters of Transference shall be allowed them by him, in the Chamber of the Parliament of *Paris*, ordain'd for the Administration of Justice to those of the said Religion, or to the Great Council, for Processes mov'd, or to be mov'd, before any Plea in the Cause; bringing good and due Attestations along with them, of their being of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion.

XIV. His said Majesty also wills and means, That the said Chambers, compos'd and establish'd in the said Parliaments, for the Administration of Justice to those of the said Religion, shall be reunited and incorporated in the said Parliaments, when need shall require; and when the Causes which have mov'd his said Majesty to establish them shall cease, and shall no longer subsist among his Subjects.

XV. To those ends, the Presidents and Counsellors who shall be invested with the Offices newly created into the said Chambers, shall be named Presidents and Counsellors of the Courts of Parliament, each in that into which they shall be establish'd and reckon'd in the Number of the Presidents and Counsellors of the said Courts; and shall enjoy the same Salaries, Authorities,

thorities, Prerogatives, as the Presidents and Counsellors of the other Courts.

XVI. The Examination of which Presidents and Counsellors newly chosen, shall be made by his Majesty's Privy Council, or by the said Chambers, each one within its Precinct, when there shall be a sufficient Number of them; and yet the usual Oath shall be taken by them in the Courts where the said Chambers shall be establish'd; those of the said Chamber of *Languedoc* excepted, who shall take it before the Lord Chancellor, or in the said Chamber when it shall be establish'd.

XVII. In the said Chamber of *Languedoc*, there shall be two Substitutes of his Majesty's Attorney and Advocate. The Attorney shall be a Catholick, and the other of the aforesaid Religion, who shall have sufficient Salaries from his said Majesty.

XVIII. There shall also be two Committees of the Parliament of *Tboulouse*; the one Civil, the other Criminal, which the Registers shall be responsible for.

XIX. Moreover some Messengers shall be appointed, who shall be taken out of the said Court, or elsewhere, according to the King's Pleasure, as many as shall be necessary for the Service of the said Chamber.

XX. The Session of which shall be appointed by his Majesty, and remov'd to such Cities and Parts of the said Country of *Languedoc*, as his said Majesty shall think fit, for the convenience of his Subjects.

XXI. Whereas those of the said Religion have made Complaints, that from the Publication of the Edict made in the Year 1570, to the Day of the Publication of this that shall be now, there have been several Proscriptions, Nonuits,

or

Henry III.
1577.
Pope Gregory XIII.

Henry III. or Judgments, given against those of the said Religion, in places where the Suits have neither been heard nor defended; and that tho' they have desired a Removal to the Party-Chambers, it has been denied them: It is granted them, that in case they can give sufficient proof of the same, they shall be receiv'd in their first Condition again.

^{1577.}
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

XXII. Likewise upon the Remonstrances that have been made by the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condé*, that they are solicited by several of those, who during the Troubles, have bought Temporal Estates belonging to the Church, requesting that no Action may be allow'd against them, or any of those, who by their Command have made the Contracts of the said Sales: It is granted to them in his said Majesty's Name, that all necessary Letters-Patent, to discharge and indemnify them for the said Sales, shall be particularly drawn up for them; on condition that the Money shall be reimburs'd, as it is specify'd in the General Articles of the Edict.

XXIII. His Majesty shall promise and swear to observe and maintain the Edict that shall be made upon the said General Articles, and to let those of the said Religion, and others that have been engag'd in their Party, enjoy the Benefit of the same: He shall also oblige the Queen his Mother, and the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother, to promise and swear to keep and observe the said Edict.

XXIV. The same shall be done by the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condé*.

XXV. All which Promises and Oaths shall be made in Writing, sign'd by the Hands, and seal'd with the Seals of those that shall make them, the which shall be reciprocally put and deliver'd

deliver'd into the hands of his Majesty, and of the Henry III.
 said King of *Navarre*, or such as shall be by 1577.
 them deputed to receive them. Pope Gregory XIII.

XXVI. The said King of *Navarre* shall be allow'd, after the Conclusion of the Peace, to send to the Queen of *England*, and to Duke *John Casimir*, to acquaint them therewith; and Passes and Convoys shall be given by his Majesty to those that shall be sent thither, by the King of *Navarre*.

XXVII. All such of the said Religion as are still in possession of Benefices, shall be oblig'd to resign them within the Space of six Months to the Catholicks; and those who have Promises of Pensions upon the said Benefices, dated before the 24th of *August*, 1572, shall be henceforward paid for the same, and the Payment of the said Pensions continued; and those who owe the said Pensions shall be oblig'd to pay the Arrears, in case any are due, provided they have actually enjoy'd the Fruits of the said Benefices, excepting the Arrears due in the time of the Troubles.

XXVIII. And as for those who are not of the said Religion, yet have follow'd them during the time of the Troubles, they shall re-enter into the same Possession and Enjoyment of their Benefices, as they had before the 24th of *August*, 1572. And those who by private Authority, or without Order, or Gift from his Majesty, have enjoy'd and receiv'd the Fruits of the said Benefices belonging to the above-mention'd, shall be oblig'd to return it to them, and to re-settle them into the same.

XXIX. Upon the Request of those of the said Religion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, to annihilate all Bonds, Notes and Promises made by them, together

Henry III. with all Judgments given upon the same against them, upon the account of the Employments, Places and Offices resign'd unto them before the ^{1577.} *Pope Gregory XIII.* last Troubles, or since; for which they have not been able to obtain Letters Patent, by reason of the said Troubles, which said Employments and Offices have in the mean while been granted to others; they also requesting the reimbursement of the Money paid by them for the same, either into his Majesty's Exchequer, or to the Resigners: It has been declar'd, That upon their giving his Majesty an account of the particulars of the Cases in question, his said Majesty will remedy the same, and cause Justice to be done unto them.

XXX. The Officers of Justice shall also decide the particular Debate and Request of the Parties, about the Annihilation desir'd by those of the said Religion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, of the Leases made by them of their Estates and Inheritances, since the said 24th of *August*, in order to re-enter into the Premises, returning the Fines by them receiv'd.

XXXI. His Majesty's Officers in the City of *Rochelle*, the Mayor, Sheriffs, Consuls, Common-Council, and other Inhabitants of the said City, shall be continu'd and maintain'd in their ancient Rights and Privileges; and shall neither be prosecuted, molested, or troubled for their Orders, Decrees, Imprisonments, both within and without the City, the Execution of their Judgments afterwards, as well upon account of some pretended Enterprizes attempted against the said City, in *December*, 1573, as by a Ship call'd the *Swallow*, and the Execution of the Judgments given against those that were on board of her, or for any other Acts whatever; of all which they

they shall be absolutely discharg'd. They shall have no other Governor but the Seneschal, neither shall any Garison be put into the said City and Government.

Henry III.
1577.
Pope Gregory XIII.

Neither shall any be put into the Cities and Places belonging to the Government of *Languedoc*, but such as had Garisons in the time of the late King *Henry*.

XXXII. His Majesty shall confirm the Declaration granted by the late King to the Inhabitants of *Pamiers*, professing the said Religion, for 'the Annihilation of the Decrees given for some Excesses committed in the said City, in the Month of *June*, 1566. and the said Declaration shall be presented to that end to his said Majesty.

XXXIII. The keeping of eight hundred Men, to be paid by his said Majesty, has been granted to the said King of *Navarre*, and others of the said Religion, to put into the cautionary Towns granted them, wherein his said Majesty shall not put any Governor, or other Garison. And he shall also charge the Governors and Lieutenant-Generals of his Provinces, that whenever they shall pass through the same to visit them, they shall avoid all Occasion of Dispute with those of the said Religion.

XXXIV. The said King of *Navarre* shall present unto his said Majesty, those he designs to employ for guarding of the said Cities which shall be employ'd there accordingly by him: And in case any of the said Persons so employ'd, should behave themselves insolently there, and abuse their said Office, not observing the said Edict of Pacification, the said King of *Navarre* shall be obliged to turn them out, and to present others to his said Majesty, to be put in their place.

Henry III. XXXV. The City of *St. John d'Angeli* shall
 1577. be left to the Prince of *Condé*, for his Abode, du-
 Pope Gre- ring the Time and Term of six Years, until he
 gory XIII. may effectually enjoy his Government of *Pi-*
 cardy, in which his Majesty will have him con-
 tinued.

XXXVI. The said Prince shall promise unto his said Majesty, well and faithfully to keep the said City of *St. John*; and at the end of the time abovesaid, the same to re-deliver, together with the Castle, into the hands of the Person deputed by his Majesty to that end, in the same Condition it now is, without any Innovation or Alteration, and without the least Delay or Difficulty, upon any account whatever. Moreover, it is his Majesty's Will and Pleasure, That all the Ecclesiasticks shall freely return into the said City, perform divine Service freely, and enjoy their Estates, together with all the Catholick Inhabitants; and the said Prince shall take all the said Ecclesiasticks and other Inhabitants under his Protection and Safeguard, to the end that they may not be hindred from performing the said divine Service, molested or troubled in their Persons, or in the Enjoyment of their Estates, but on the contrary, restor'd to the full Possession of the same.

XXXVII. The said Prince of *Condé* shall present and name unto his said Majesty, the Person to whom he shall trust the keeping of the said City, to the end that Letters-Patent may be granted him for the same by his said Majesty, as it has been done heretofore.

XXXVIII. For the Guard and Safety of the said City, fifty Men shall be allow'd to the said Prince, maintain'd at his Majesty's Charge, besides the Dividend the said King of *Navarre* shall allow him out of the eight hundred Men

that are left to him for the Guard of the other Cities ; his said Majesty willing that the eight hundred and fifty Men allow'd as aforesaid to the said King of *Navarre*, and Prince of *Condé*, shall be employed for the Garison of the said Cities, as it has been agreed ; and that they shall be employ'd no where else, without expresse Command from his said Majesty, to avoid oppressing of his People, and to remove all Cause of Jealousy from among his Subjects : His said Majesty also meaning, that the said eight hundred and fifty Men shall be disbanded at the expiration of the Term allow'd, and the time of the Restitution of the said Cities.

Henry III.
1577.
Pope Gregory XIII.

XXXIX. By the General Articles, the City of *Montpellier* is left in keeping to those of the said Religion, for the Retreat and Safety of those of the Country of *Languedoc* ; but his said Majesty means it, in case the said City be still in the hands and in the power of those of the said Religion, on the day these Articles shall be granted and sign'd in this City of *Bergerac*, and not otherwise ; in which case, instead of the said City, his Majesty shall allow them another, of those that are at present within their Power in the said Country of *Languedoc*, at their choice.

XL. His said Majesty shall write to his Ambassadors, to require and desire for all his Subjects of whatever Religion they be, That they may not be troubled as to their Conscience, nor be liable to the Inquisition, in going and coming, negotiating and trading throughout all *Spain*, *Italy*, other Foreign Countries, Allies, and Confederates of this Crown, provided they do not offend the Civil Government.

XLI. All Pieces of Ordnance belonging to his said Majesty, that have been taken during

Henry III. the present or precedent Troubles, shall be immediately restor'd, and put into his said Majesty's
 1577. Magazines; excepting such as are in cautionary
 Pope Gregory XIII. Towns, which shall remain in them; an Inventory being made of the same, in order to their being restor'd at the expiration of the aforesaid Term of six Years.

XLII. Whereas, if all that has been done against the Regulations on both sides, were indifferently excepted out of the General Pardon, there is no Man in the Army but might be prosecuted and troubled, which might occasion new Troubles; it has been thought fit to grant, that none but execrable Crimes shall be excepted out of the said General Pardon, *viz.* Rapes of Women, Incendiaries, Murders, Robberies committed treacherously, and out of private Revenge, against the Laws of War, Infraction of Passports and Safeguards, together with Murders and Plunders without Command; out of consideration to those of the said Religion, and others who have been engag'd in the Party of the King of Navarre, or the Prince of Condé, grounded upon particular occasions that have oblig'd them to command and order it.

XLIII. It shall be ordain'd, That whatever shall be taken on either side by way of Hostility or otherwise, upon any account whatever, proceeding from the present Troubles, from and upon the 17th of the present Month, on which the Articles have been granted, agreed upon, and sign'd, in this City of *Bergerac*, shall be liable to Restitution and Civil Reparation.

XLIV. As for the City of *Avignon*, and *Venaissin* County, his Majesty desiring that the Inhabitants thereof may share and enjoy the Fruit of the Peace he hopes to settle in his Kingdom by the Assistance of God, both out of consideration

sideration to our holy Father the Pope, and be-
 cause the said City and County have always been
 under the Protection of the Kings his Predeces-
 sors, and that it is a thing very material towards
 the Establishment of the said Peace in the adja-
 cent Provinces; his said Majesty will entreat his
 said Holiness to allow the Subjects of this King-
 dom, who have Estates in the said City of *Avig-
 non*, and County, as also to the Subjects of the
 said City and County, who are of the said Reli-
 gion, to be restor'd and re-establish'd into the en-
 tire and peaceable Enjoyments of their Estates,
 which they have been depriv'd of on account of
 the Troubles past, and of the said Religion,
 without their being liable to be troubled in the
 said Possession upon the said account. Which
 being done, those who occupy and detain at pre-
 sent in the said Country, Cities and Places, be-
 longing either to his Holiness, or his Subjects,
 shall be oblig'd to deliver them forthwith, and
 without delay, into the hands of such as shall
 be nominated by his said Holiness for that pur-
 pose: For the effecting of which the King of
Navarre, and the Prince of *Condé*, shall dispatch
 a Gentleman on purpose to those that are de-
 tainers of the said Places, to signify the same
 unto them, and to require and order them to
 obey; which in case they refuse to do, the
 said King of *Navarre*, and Prince of *Condé*, do
 promise both in their Names, and in the Names
 of those of the said Religion, and others, who
 have been engag'd in their Party, neither to aid,
 comfort, or assist them. His Majesty also pro-
 mises, That in case after the Restitution and
 Delivery of the said Places into the hands of such
 as shall be ordered by his said Holiness, any of
 his Majesty's Subjects having Estates in the said
 Cities and County, or of his Holiness's Subjects.

Henry III.
 1577.
 Pope Gre-
 gory XIII.

Henry III. professing the said Religion, should be disturb'd
 1577. in the Enjoyment of their said Estates on ac-
 Pope Gre- count of the said Religion, he will grant them
 gory XIII. Letters of Marque and Reprisal upon the Estates
 that are possess'd by the Subjects of the said City
 and County of *Avignon*, in the Countries under
 his Obedience; which Letters shall be directed to
 that end to the Judges to whom of right the
 Cognizance of such things appertains.

XLV. All his Majesty's Subjects shall be e-
 qually assessed for the Sums due to the Reisters,
 both for the present and preceding Troubles.
 And whereas those of the said Religion pretend
 that the main part of the Money destin'd for the
 Payment of the said Reisters for the precedent
 Troubles was rais'd before the 24th of *August*,
 1572, and was taken from them and remitted,
 and that his Majesty might, by surprize, have
 made a Gift of the said Money to some particu-
 lar Persons: It is his Majesty's Pleasure, that
 those who have had the said Money on any ac-
 count, and under any pretence, shall be oblig'd
 by lawful and reasonable means to restore the
 same: And that whatever Receivers, and others,
 who have still Money of that kind in their hands,
 shall also be oblig'd to deliver it forthwith into
 the hands of his Majesty's Receivers-General,
 and that too by imprisoning of them if necessary:
 Upon account of which his said Majesty has, and
 does discharge those of the said Religion, of all
 Obligations and Promises made and given by
 them upon that account, both to his said Ma-
 jesty, the Reisters, and all others.

XLVI. The said King of *Navarre*, and those
 of the said Religion, having made application
 to his said Majesty for the Payment of the
 Reisters due to the said *John Casimir*, his Colo-
 nels, and Rent-masters: His said Majesty has
 declar'd,

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declar'd, That he will endeavour to do it as soon as ever his Affairs will permit him. Henry III.

XLVII. And as to the six hundred thousand Livres which those of the said Religion say were allow'd them by the last Peace, to impose upon, and raise among themselves, in order to pay some Sum due by them: It has been granted by them, That in case they can produce the said Permission, and make it appear, that nothing has been rais'd by them by virtue thereof, and that the Sums for which it had been granted are still due, the said Permission shall be confirm'd by his said Majesty. 1577.
Pope Gregory XIII.

XLVIII. The Prince of *Orange* shall be restor'd to all the Lands, Jurisdications and Lordships he has in this said Kingdom and Territories, under his said Majesty's Obedience. In like manner shall be restor'd to him all Titles, Instructions, and other Papers concerning his Principality of *Orange*; in case any have been taken and remov'd by the Governors and Lieutenants-General, and others his said Majesty's Officers, if what is above said has not been done already.

The present Articles have been made and granted by express Command from the King, in his Majesty's Name, and by his Pleasure, by the Duke of *Montpensier* and the Sieurs *de Birron*, *Descars*, *S. Sulpice*, *de la Mothe-Fenelon*, by virtue of the full Powers given unto them by his said Majesty, to conclude and agree about the Pacification of the Troubles of this Kingdom on the one part: And by the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, and Deputies of those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, the said King of *Navarre*, Prince of *Condé*, and Deputies answering for all those of the Provinces of this Kingdom, Countries,
Ter-

Henry III. Territories and Lordships under the Obedience
 of his said Majesty, who profess the said Reli-
 gion, and others who have been engag'd in
 their Party, on the other part. In witness
 whereof the said Articles have been sign'd
 with their own Hands, in the City of *Bergerac*, the 17th Day of *September*, 1577.

1577.
 Pope Gre-
 gory XIII.

Thus signed in the Original, *Lewis of Bourbon*,
Biron, *Descars*, *St. Sulpice*, in the King's
 Name. *La Nouë*, *Du Faur de Grateins*,
 Chancellor to the King of *Navarre*; *St.*
Gelais, *Chauvin*, *Du Faur de Casenoue*, *Claufone* Deputy of *Languedoc*, and others De-
 puties of the Confederates.

That Edict was read, published and registered
 in the Parliament of Paris, only on the 8th of
 October, at the Instance of the King's Attorney-
 General. As to the Secret Articles, whereas
 they respected for the most part the Provinces
 of the Kingdom, not of the said Parliament's
 Jurisdiction, they were only registered in the
 Publick Acts. The King, his Mother, and the
 Duke of Anjou, had solemnly sworn at *Poitiers*,
 on the 5th of the same Month to the strict Ob-
 servation of whatever had been enacted, either
 by the Edict, or by the Secret Articles, whereof
 the King sent an Instrument to the King of *Navarre*
 at *Bergerac*; and the two Parties were
 equally well pleased with the Contents of it, and
 the King used to call it HIS OWN EDICT, by
 way of Excellency.

Before we proceed to the Execution thereof,
 which we may refer more conveniently to the
 next Year, I think it very proper to give here
 some general Notion of those who had the
 chief

chief Management of Affairs in the Court of Henry III.
France.

We have already insinuated in several Places, ^{1577. Pope Gregory XIII.} that King Henry III. was quite altered for the worse at his Return from *Poland*, and entirely given up to his Favourites and *Minions*; it is worth our while to enquire into their Character, ^{CX. Character of the King's Favourites.} since they have had so great a share in the Mismanagement and the Misfortunes of this Prince.

Villequier, Bellegarde, Le Guast, and Chiverni, had the greatest share in that Prince's Favour; while he was Duke of *Anjou*, afterwards King of *Poland*, and when at first he came back to *France*. The two first attended him in *Poland*, the two others took care of his Affairs in *France*; during his Absence, *le Guast* as a Spy, and *Chiverni* as his Chancellor as Duke of *Anjou*.

Tho' *René of Villequier, Baron of Clervaux*, ^{Of Villequier.} was youngest Brother to *Claudius Baron of Villequier*, and had no share in *Villequier's* Land, he took nevertheless the Name of that Place, because of its ancient and illustrious Nobility, and that he might be thought more worthy of that Greatness to which he aspired. He was a Man of a great Wit, but of that sort of Wit that was then in fashion at Court, he was entirely devoted to his Master's Inclinations and Pleasures; and as he was the most forward in his Favour, so he plunged himself deeper than any in all manner of Vices, Libertinism and Dissoluteness, setting aside the Glory of his Ancestors, his own Honour, Probity, Conscience and Religion, as so many Obstacles to his Ambition. *Henry* being King of *Poland*, made him Great Master of his Household; and when he return'd into *France* he made him Captain of his Guards, first Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, Governor of *Paris* and the *Isle of France* after the Duke

Henry III. of Montmorancy's Death, and Knight of his Orders. Besides his Barony of *Clervaux* in *Poitou*, 1577. Pope Gregory XIII. he got those of *Aubigny* and *la Faye* in the same Country, the Lordships of *Estableau* and *Chanceaux* in *Touraine*, those of *Eury* in *Brie*, and *Faverolles* in *Picardy*; he knew very well how to make his profit of the lavish Temper of his Master, with whom no body was greater than those who were insatiable of Riches, and squandered away their Money in Clothes, Ballets, Feasts and other Debaucheries of all kinds, for whose Gratification the People groaned under heavy Taxes and Subsidies; and no wonder if *Villequier*, as well as other Minions, drew upon himself the publick Hatred, and was so much censured by the Publick when he murdered in cool Blood his own Lady *Frances de la Mark*, in the King's House at *Poitiers*, where his Majesty was in Person, in order, as 'tis said, to please his Master, who had been denied some Favour by that unfortunate Lady; or as some others say, because she had spoken too freely of his Majesty. Howbeit, that tragical Event happened this Year, 1577. He had a Daughter by her, named *Charlotte Catherine*, who was married first to *Francis* Lord of *O*, another of *Henry III*d's Favourites, Master of his Wardrobe, first Gentleman of his Chamber, Governor of *Caën*, Lieutenant-General in *Low-Normandy*, and Super-Intendant of his Exchequer. As to himself, he married in 1586, *Louisa* of *Savonniere*, one of the Queen-Mother's Maids of Honour. He died at *Eury*, in the Year 1590, leaving a Son by his second Wife, who died at *Fontainbleau*, without Issue aged 19 Years (o).

Roger

(o) Addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau, liv. 7. chap. 9. pag. 736, &c. See further upon his Character, Thuan, lib. 58. pag. 7. lib. 86. pag. 173. lib. 87. pag. 191. lib. 90. p. 281, and 285.

Roger of *St. Laire*, (or *St. Hilaire*) Baron of *Henry III.*
Bellegarde, Marshal of *France*, was born of ^{1577.}
an ancient and most illustrious House in *Lan-* *Pope Gre-*
guedoc; he was a most accomplish'd Gentleman, *gory XII.*
but vastly ambitious and revengeful, he made *Of Mar-*
use of all his Wit, Dexterity and Valour, to get *shal de Bel-*
into the King's Favour, to improve it as he did, *legarde.*
and to maintain himself in the Government of
the Marquisate of *Saluces*, even when he was
fallen into the King's Disfavour. The Marshal
of *Termes*, his Uncle, had married a Daughter
of the House of *Saluces*, a beautiful and crafty
Lady. *Bellegarde* became enamour'd with her,
and she manag'd his Passion so dexterously, that
after the Marshal's Death she married him by the
Pope's Dispensation, procured by the Duke of *Sa-*
voy's Interest; and so she had the good luck to
reign again in the said Marquisate, just as if she
had been the lawful Heiress thereof, and as she
had transferred her own Rights to her said Hus-
band, who confirmed his Authority so well in
that Country, that the Queen-Mother, whose
irreconcilable Hatred supply'd the King her
Son's Pusillanimity, found no better means of
subduing that secret Enemy, than by causing
him to be poison'd in the Year 1579, just as he
was upon the point of executing a Design, where-
of we shall be oblig'd to speak in its proper
Place. He had incurred the Queen-Mother's
Disgrace, by advising the King her Son not to
set out from *Poland*, without taking his leave of
the States of the Kingdom: and then because he
insisted with the said King upon the necessity of
pacifying his Kingdom at the beginning of his
Reign. *Villequier* thwarted his Counsel, and by
little and little at the Queen-Mother's Instiga-
tion, rendered him suspected to the King.
He left but one Son, *Cesar* of *Bellegarde*, Go-
vernor

Henry III. verner of *Xaintonge*, killed at the Battle of
 1577. *Contras*, in 1578 (p).

Pope Gre-
 gory XIII.

Of Du
Guaft.

Lewis Berenger, Lord *du Guaft*, was a Man of
 an aspiring Genius above his Condition, and who
 had much Wit; he carried his Arrogance so far
 as to attempt to cope with the Princes of the
 Blood, and the first Lords of the Court, and by
 the Sauciness of his Language he defamed
 wrong or right the Ladies of the Court, blacken-
 ing their Reputation in the King's presence, who
 took a delight in those things. Nay, he spared
 not the King's own Sister, who being grievously
 offended at it, sought all means to be revenged;
 and at last caused him to be murdered in his own
 Bed, by *du Prat* Baron *de Viteaux*; this hap-
 pened in the Year 1575. *Thuanus* observes, that
 the King tho' sensible of that Affront, the Fact
 having been perpetrated just by the *Louvre*,
 where *du Guaft* had his House, nevertheless he
 was not very sorry to be freed of him; begin-
 ning to suspect his haughty and aspiring Genius,
 and to dread him as a severe Censor, who en-
 deavoured to reclaim him out of his lazy Life,
 and to bring him to act as a Prince (q).

Of Chi-
verni.

Philip Hurault Count of *Chiverni*, was a Man
 of an extensive Capacity, which added to a
 great Dexterity in the Management of Affairs,
 and a long Experience in the same, made him
 one of the greatest Men of his Age; besides that
 he was remarkable for his Kindness, Affability,
 and Meekness; on which account no body went
 from him dissatisfy'd. He had been Chancellor
 to King *Henry* while he was Duke of *Anjou*, and
 was raised by degrees to the Dignity of Chancel-
 lor of *France*, after the Resignation of *Biragues*,
 upon

(p) *Agricola* Addit. aux Mem. de *Castelnau*. liv vii.
 chap. 8.

(q) *Thuan.* lib. 61. pag. 108—109.

upon the Promotion of this Man to the Cardinal-ship in 1579. I can't say that *Chiverni* was not a Time-server, and even too great a Flatterer of the High Powers, before he was raised to the first Magistracy of the Kingdom; but indeed his great Services to the King and the Kingdom since he was promoted to that high Office for twenty Years together in the most hard and troublesome times, deserve the greatest Encomiums. He died of a Mortification in his Bowels, at the Castle of *Chiverni*, in the 73d Year of his Age, on the 29th of June, 1599. Had King Henry III. never had any other Minister, or follow'd any other Counsel than *Chiverni's*, he would have reigned gloriously, and been the Delight of his People (r).

But to that Prince's and the Kingdom's Misfortune he was become a perfect Slave to his Minions, young Men remarkable only for the Beauty of their Face and Shape, for their Riots, Dissoluteness, and extravagant Expences; for the Gratification of which, the King made no scruple of emptying his Exchequer, and of overloading his Subjects with new Taxes and Imposts. *Que-lus*, *Maugiron*, *St. Megrin* and *Livarot*, were his first Minions, who ended their Lives miserably; to them succeeded *Joyeuse*, *St. Luc*, *la Valette*, *d'O*, and some others.


Annas Son to *William* Viscount of *Joyeuse*, Of *Joyeuse* Marshal of *France*, was of a Family very considerable by its Nobility, and the great Estates they were possessed of in *Languedoc*; he was the eldest of six Brethren, all of them enjoyed the greatest Dignities and Preferments, either of Court or Church, by the Favour of Henry III. Francis, the second Son, was Cardinal Duke of *Joyeuse*, Archbishop of *Narbonne*, *Tboulouse* and *Rouën*,

Henry III. *Rouën, Abbot of Marmoutier, Grammont, Fescamp, St. Florent, Mont St. Michel, St. Sernin of Thoulouse, and St. Martin of Pontoise.* Henry was the third Son, and successively Count of *Bouchage*, Favourite to King Henry III. married to *Catherine of Nogaret*, the Duke of *Espernon's* Sister, after whose Death he turned a Capucine, and a Priest; then he was Governor of *Languedoc*, Duke of *Joyeuse*, Peer of *France*, Marshal of *France*, and at last he died a Capucine. His only Daughter *Henrietta Catherine*, Duchess of *Joyeuse*, was married at first to Henry of *Bourbon* Duke of *Montpensier*, by whom she had *Mary* Duchess of *Orleans*; and secondly to *Charles* of *Lorraine* Duke of *Guise*. *Antony Scipio* of *Joyeuse*, the fourth Son of *William*, was Knight of *Malta*, and Great Prior of *Thoulouse*; he succeeded his Brother in the Duchy of *Joyeuse* and Government of *Languedoc*, and took the Party of the *League*, with a View of raising himself to the Sovereignty of his Province; but all his ambitious Projects were drowned with himself in the River *Tarn*, after the Fight of *Villemur*, in 1592. *George de Joyeuse*, his Brother, was dead of an apoplectick Fit at *Paris*, in 1585. a few Days before the Consummation of his Marriage with the Heiress of *Mouy*. *Claudius de Joyeuse* Lord of *St. Sauveur*, was the youngest of all, and considered as the presumptive Heir of the whole Greatness of that illustrious House; but was killed with the eldest at the Battle of *Coutras*. Of all that Number of Sons, all of whom were generous, valiant, potent in Estates, great in Titles and Fortune, three only remained to their Father; one of them a Cardinal, another a Capucine, Father of one only Daughter, and another a Knight of *Malta*, who by the Institutes of his Order could not contract

contract a lawful Marriage. So he could com-plain at his Death, which happened in 1592, that he had seen his Posterity only like an Apparition, whereof he had enjoyed only as of a pleasant Dream, and whereof nothing was left to him but their Pictures, and the sad and doleful Remembrance THAT THEY HAD BEEN. There is something so extraordinary in the 'Rise and Fall of that House, that I hope the Reader will forgive me the Disgression.

Henry III.
1577.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Annas de Joyeuse was then the eldest of it, he raised his House to the highest pitch of Grandeur and Glory whereto a Subject could attain, thro' the Prodigality of the King; who found no Delight more worthy of a Prince than when he entertained his Favourites with the Scorn he did shew for all the Remonstrances made unto him concerning the Dissipation of his Finances, and the Ruin and Despair of his poor People. He liked to have several Favourites together, and was mightily well pleased with their Jealousies; he would have them valiant, but they ought to be rash, witty, and vicious: He denied them nothing, if they were magnificent and extravagant, and that he could give a Spight to those who had a greater Right to his Favour, either by their Birth or their great Services. True it is, that *Joyeuse's* good Luck was less envy'd, because he was of a most illustrious House, and that he had all the most exquisite Parts of a perfect Courtier: He was generous, more inclining to true Greatness than to gathering of Riches, which he received only for scattering them with Profuseness; an Instance of this he gave one Day, when coming out of the King's Apartment and meeting the four Secretaries of State in the Anti-chamber, which had waited a long time for him, he accompanied his Excuses with

Henry III. a Gift of an hundred thousand Crowns, to be
 1577. divided amongst them, which he had just then
 Pope Gre- received of his Majesty. And the League be-
 gory XIII.  ing upon the point of breaking out, with so much
 the greater danger for the King, that all the
 great Lords were either discontented or divided,
 and the People so much disaffected that no fur-
 ther Supply of Money could be expected from
 them in the most urgent Necessity the Court was
 in ; he offered his All to his Majesty, which he
 would not accept, but could not refuse without
 the greatest Tokens of Gratitude and Acknow-
 ledgment.

All these Qualifications would have shelter'd
 him against the Publick Hatred, and he would
 have had less Enemies than Enviars, had not his
 Master offended the Eyes of his Subjects, by the
 exorbitant Expences he made for this Favourite's
 Nuptials, which amounted to THREE HUN-
 DRED THOUSAND POUNDS STERLING: An
 intolerable thing at any time ! but a thing which
 hath no Name under an unhappy Reign, ruined
 by Wars and divided into two Parties, always in
 Arms and ready to cut one another's Throats.
 The Embassadors of the *Switz* Cantons were
 then at *Paris*, to demand the Payment of the
 Arrears due unto them ; but being told by the
 Treasurers, that there was no Money in the Ex-
 chequer : How so, say they, since your Master
 laid out such vast Sums for the Nuptial Feasts of
 one of his Subjects, can he not satisfy the just
 Demands of his Allies ? The King gave him
 his own Sister-in-law, *Margaret of Lorraine*, for
 his Wife, in 1581. Few Days before he had
 created him Duke of *Joyeuse*, with a Distinc-
 tion worthy of a Prince, who did not care whe-
 ther the Deeds of his Reign should be cancelled
 after his Death, or not ; to wit, he ordered, and
 it

it was so registered, *That in Consideration of his* Henry III. *future Marriage he should precede all other Dukes,* 1577. *tho' their Creation were of an older Date, the* Pope Gregory XIII. *Princes of the Blood and the sovereign Houses excepted.* Damville at this time Duke of Montmorancy, tho' absent from Court, entered his Protest against that Novelty; and caused afterwards such a Pretension to be declared abusive by the Parliament of Paris.

At this time there were at Paris some Preachers very free, who did not except from the Category of the greatest Sins, the cruel or libertine Maxims of the Cabinet. Doctor Poncet amongst others, a Man eloquent and vehement, spared not the King and the Lords of the Court in his Sermons; and Brantome observes, that one day he carried his Heat so far against that political Axiom, WHO KNOWS NOT HOW TO DISSEMBLE, KNOWS NOT HOW TO REIGN, that he made no Scruple to say from the Pulpit, *That this was a Saying of a thorough Atheist, which opened the Broad-way to the Kings and Princes to go all to the Devil, and to render them thorough Tyrants in this World.* One Day, adds Brantome, *M. de Joyeuse met him in the Street, during the great Feasts for his Marriage, and told him, Dr. Poncet, I have never seen you before, and am very glad to meet you now; for I have often heard of you, and how you provoke your Hearers to laughing when you preach.* Whereto Poncet replied with great coolness, Sir, *It is but reason that I should provoke the People to laugh when I preach, since you do provoke them to shed abundance of Tears by the Taxes and Subsidies loaded upon them to find out the Expences of your Nuptials.* Joyeuse had a good mind to strike him for that Freedom, but he forbore, be-

Henry III. ing afraid of the People there present, who had a great value and respect for *Poncet*.

1577.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

By the Favour of this Lord, his own Father was created Marshal of *France*, and he himself Admiral of *France*, Governor of *Normandy*, first Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and Knight of the King's Orders; he was so far beloved by the King, that after having invested him with his own Authority, it was but his own fault if he did not partake of all his other Goods, and even of his own Honour; but his Generosity made him to be contented with Titles.

At last *John Lewis* of *Nogaret*, afterwards Duke of *Espernon*, his Ally, who partook with him in the King's Favour, but was willing to possess it whole and entire, that he might raise himself to the same Degree of Grandeur as he was, caused his Courage to be tickled for accepting the Command of the Army which the King sent into *Guienne* against the Reformed, in order to blot out the Suspicions entertained against him on account of his Religion. The Duke catch'd at the Bait, and his Creatures who saw him resolved on that Expedition did not insist enough to dissuade him from it; on the contrary they flatter'd his Ambition, and he left the Court with a brilliant Retinue. He made several great Exploits, and took several Places; but he was no sooner gone from Court, than his Enemies began to speak disadvantageously of him: He had notice too late of the Interest he lost every Day in the King's Affections; and being returned to Court, on pretence of providing for the Wants of his Army, he was sensible of the Fault he had done in quitting his Game. It is said, that out of spite against his Competitor *Nogaret*, who had said that he was tired with the War, and that he durst not give Battle

Battle to the King of *Navarre*, he took secretly ^{Henry III.} Party with the *League*, fully resolved to revenge ^{1577.} as soon as he should have increased his Reputation by some great Feat. For which cause he ^{Pope Gre-} asked the King's Leave to give Battle, which was ^{gory XIII.} readily granted; that Prince desiring that he might do something, which might justify the Value he had had for him. Being reduced to a kind of Despair, he neglected the Advantage he had of keeping the King of *Navarre* shut up close between two Rivers, to give him Battle at *Coutras*; where he was routed and wounded, then killed in cool Blood on the 20th of October, 1587. *Brantome* says, that seeing his Army routed he answered *St. Luke*, who asked him what was to be done in the present Emergency, *To die after this, Monsieur de St. Luke*, says he, *and to live no longer.* *Turenne* took care to have him put up in a Leaden Coffin, and carried to *Tours*; from whence he was brought to *Paris*, where he was buried at the King's Charge, with a Royal Funeral Pomp, in the Church of Austin Fryars (s).

John Lewis Nogaret de la Valette Caumont, ^{Of La Va-} so much renowned in our History by the Name ^{lette.} of Duke of *Espernon*, was born in the Year 1554, of a most ancient and noble Family in *Guienne*; his Father was Colonel of the Light-Horse of *France*, and the King's Lieutenant-General in *Guienne*, and his Mother was Sister to the Marshal of *Bellegarde*. *Caumont* being extraordinary well shaped, of a quick Genius, and endowed with all other Parts requisite to make a great Man and a Hero, came for the third time to *Paris*, and for the second time to

Q 3

Court,

(s) Addit. aux Mem. de Cast. Tom. II. liv. 4. ch. 3. pag. 51—55. Vie d'Espernon, Tom. I. liv. 1, & 2.

Henry III. Court, in the Year 1577, and in the twenty-third of his Age. He was known by the King, who had seen him at the Siege of *la Rochelle* in 1573, (where he served as *Voluntier*, tho' he was but 18 or 19 Years of Age, and distinguished himself on that occasion by his great Courage;) and he had seen him since in the Retinue of the King of *Navarre*, while he was at Court. It was upon that little Acquaintance, that he resolved to apply and addict himself directly to the King; therefore as the War was about to be kindled in the Kingdom, he thought that he could not better recommend himself, than by doing the King some Service. For which purpose he took his way through *Bordeaux*, and paid a visit to the Marquis of *Villars* one of his Father's Friends, who was then very busy in putting the Province of *Guienne* in a State of Defence; he told him what was the Design of his Journey, and offered him his Services, which were readily accepted by *Villars*, who informed him of the most essential and particular Things concerning the said Province, that he might receive the necessary Orders from Court. From *Bordeaux* he came to *Angoulême*, where the Marquis of *Ruffec*, Governor of the City and Country, informed him likewise of the State of his Government, and of the Reasons he had had for refusing to deliver the City into the hands of the Duke of *Alençon*: So continuing his Journey he arrived at *Blois*, where the Court was then. He was admitted to the King, to whom he delivered his Messages from *Villars* and *Ruffec*. His Majesty was much taken with *Caumont's* fine Person; he sent him to the Queen-Mother, who was likewise much pleased with his good Sense and sound Judgment, as much as with his Mien. In the Evening the King paid

a visit to the Queen his Mother, as he was used Henry III. to do every day; he asked her whether she had seen *Caumont*, and what she thought of him? ^{1577.} Pope Gre-
 She told him, that she had seen and spoke with gory XIII.
 him, and that he was a Man who deserved his Confidence and Trust. (It was the policy of that Princess, to engage the King her Son to have several Favourites, in order that his Affections being divided amongst many, she might govern him more easily.) His Majesty replied, that he had had the very same Thought, and was very glad of her Approbation. Such were the Beginnings of this Favourite's Fortune, who by degrees raised himself to the highest pitch of Grandeur that a Subject can desire. The first Gift he received of the King this same Year was 1200 Crowns, to make his Equipage for this Campaign. He was declared Favourite with *Joyeuse*, *D'O*, and *St. Luc*, at the Beginning of 1579. At the Ceremony of the Institution of his Order of the *Holy Ghost*, walking in the Procession with the King, wearing Clothes of the same Colour, and having the same Livery as his Majesty. In 1580 he was made Governor of *la Fere*, and created Duke of *Espernon* and Peer of *France*, at the same time as the Duke of *Joyeuse*, and with the same Prerogative. In 1582 he was made Governor of *Metz*, and of the *Messine* Country; and was also Governor of *Dauphiné*, *Bologne*, *Calais*, *Loche*, and the *Citadel of Lyons*, and some other Places. In 1585, the Duke of *Guise* having refused to resign his Charge of Great Master of the King's Household, his Majesty created a new one, viz. that of Colonel-General of the Infantry of *France*; which Charge had been formerly always divided in two, one for beyond the *Alps*, and the other for this side, but were now in one in his behalf. The King

Henry III. carried on this occasion his Fondness for his Favourite to the highest degree of Extravagancy; for being not satisfied with the exorbitant Power that he annexed to that Charge, he told him, that he was very sorry that it had not been in his power to make his Charge more independent, and to annex unto it some part more considerable of the Royal Dignity; and it is certain, that when he bestowed upon him the Government of *Metz, Toul and Verdun*, he would give them unto him in full Sovereignty, without any Redevance to the Crown; but the Duke declined it modestly. After the Death of the Duke of *Joyeuse*, the King gratified him with all the Charges and Governments of the said Lord, and made him Admiral of *France*, Governor of *Normandy*, of *Caën* and *Havre-de-Grace*; and his Cousin the Duke of *Bellegarde*, being dead at the same time, he was likewise gratified with the Governments of *Xaintonge*, *Angoumois*, and *Country of Aulnix*. He declined the Offer the King made him of one of his Sisters-in-law, at the same time when the Duke of *Joyeuse* married another. He declined likewise the Offer made him at the Court of *Navarre*, of *Catherine*, Sister to the said King, and rejected that which the Duke of *Guise* made of his own Daughter, married afterwards to the Prince of *Conty*; but he married in 1587, *Margaret of Foix* Countess of *Candalle*, Daughter to *Henry de Foix*, Count of *Candalle*, killed at the Siege of *Sommieres*, in the Year 1569; and of *Mary of Montmorancy*, Daughter of the *Constable*. We shall have several occasions to speak of this Favourite, who died under *Lewis III.* at the Beginning of the Year 1642, and in the 88th Year of his Age. It is said, that he died worth four hundred and twenty-five thousand Pounds

Sterling,

Sterling, besides the Duchess his Consort's Estates. He died the most ancient Duke and Peer of France, the most ancient Officer of the Crown, the most ancient General, the most ancient Governor of Provence, the most ancient Knight of the Order, the most ancient Counsellor of State, and it may be the most ancient Nobleman of the Kingdom (*t*).

It must be observed, that he was a very proud Man, and an irreconcilable Enemy.

As to *Francis Lespinay* Lord of *St. Luc*, we have little to say of him, he enjoyed not long the Favour of his Master; for we find him obliged to run away from Court a few Years after, the Occasion of his Flight is variously reported by the Historians: *D'Aubigné* pretends that it was because, having discovered to the Duchess of *Retz* the Criminal Conversation which the King had with his Minions, they both, and the Duke of *Joyeuse*, frighten'd that Prince by the means of a Copper-Pipe, which they put through a Hole in the Wall behind the Bed, making an horrid Noise with it as he was upon the Fact; which the King taking for a Threatning from Heaven fell into a deep Melancholly, which endangered his Life; whereupon the Duke of *Joyeuse* revealed the Secret, and charged *St. Luke* with the Fact. But *Girard*, Biographer of the Duke of *Espernon*, denies that as a thorough Calumny, and says, that *St. Luke's* Disgrace came from his own Indiscretion; for having revealed to his Lady, Cousin to the Duke of *Guise*, that the King had made his Address to a certain Lady of the Court, with whom he was in love, and Lady *St. Luke* having told the Queen-Mother of it, she rebuked the King her Son for it; That his Majesty being peplex'd to know who was the

Tale-

(*t*) *Girard Vie du Duc d'Espéron, Tom. I. & III.*

Henry III. Tale-teller, *St. Luke* had charged *Caumont*,
 1577. who was then in *Piedmont*; but the King be-
 Pope Gre- ing informed by the Queen-Mother's Confession
 gory XIII. that Lady *St. Luke* had acquainted her with
 that Fact, he resolved to be revenged on her
 Husband, as soon as *Caumont* should be arrived.
St. Luke being forewarned of the Misfortune
 that hung over his Head, prevented it by his
 Flight, and never came to Court afterwards:
 So he did nothing for his Advancement (v).

Of D'O. *Francis Baron d'O*, was one of King *Henry's*
 Favourites, Master of his Wardrobe, first Gen-
 tleman of his Chamber, Governor of *Caën*,
 Lieutenant-General in *Lower-Normandy*, and Su-
 perintendant of his Finances, wherein he ruined
 himself, as well as the King and the poor Peo-
 ple, because of his extravagant Expences. As
 to his Morals, it will be enough to say, that he
 was Son-in-law to *Villequier*, having married
Charlotte-Catherine, his Daughter by his first
 Wife. D'O was made Governor of *Paris* by
 King *Henry IV.* and Knight of his Orders (u).
 Such were those who governed the King in the
 Years 1577, to the Year 1580; and some of
 them to the End of his Life.

The King of *Navarre's* Court was not much
 better governed, tho' that Prince made an out-
 ward Profession of the Reformed Religion, he was
 still stained with the Corruptions of the *Louvre*.
 Besides that, the Lords of his Court could not
 agree between themselves, nor with him, be-
 cause *Lavardin*, whom they knew to be one of
 the Queen-Mother's Spies, was very great with
 him. Therefore *La Nouë* left his Court, and
 Turenne.

(v) D'Aubigné, Tom. II. liv. 4. ch. 15. Girard Vie du
 Duc d'Elpernon, Tom. I. liv. 1.

(u) Add. aux Mem. de Castelnau, liv. vii. ch. 9. p. 739.
 T'uan, lib. 56, ad finem.

Turenne and others served him with great Reluctancy and Mistrust (x). Henry III. 1577. Pope Gregory XIII.

On the other hand there was an irreconcilable Division between the Prince of *Condé* and the Lord of *Mirambeau*, on account of *Brouage*, as above said ; and a sad Misunderstanding between the said Prince and the *Rockellese*, about the Nomination of a Mayor, and other Points concerning the Liberties of that City. In general, the Affairs of the Reformed were in a very bad Condition, that Body being full of Divisions, Jealousies and Cabals ; and had it not been for the dread the King was in, lest his Brother should come to some Agreement to his Prejudice with the Duke of *Guise*, with whom he was strictly united after the taking of *la Charité* and *Issoire*, very likely he would not have made such an advantageous Peace with them as he did, and would have rather pursued his Victory ; but very luckily for them, the King took a Jealousy against his Brother, and not without good Reason, which saved them from Destruction at this time. I defer to speak of the chief Persons of the Court of *Navarre* till the Year 1581.

The ambitious and wicked Projects of the *Guises* proved abortive by this late Edict, at least they were retarded for a few Years, till they were revived by the Duke of *Anjou's* Death, but to the Confusion of their Authors.

Now the Kingdom enjoying greater Quiet than it had done since the Year 1572, the 9th National Synod of the Reformed Churches of France, was held at *St. Foy the Great* in *Perigord*, on the 2d Day of February, and ended the 14th of the same Month. *Peter Merlin*, formerly Chaplain to the late Admiral, and then to the Right Honourable

(x) Mezeray Abregé de l'Hist. de France Troisième Part. Tom. V. p. 225, 226.

Henry III. 1578. Honourable *Guy* Earl of *Laval*, and Minister of
Vitré, was Moderator; and *Francis L'Oyseau*,
 Pope Gregory XIII. Minister of *Nantz*, and *William de la Faille*,
 Minister of *Saujon*, were Secretaries of the
 Synod.

The most noble and illustrious *Henry de la Tour*, (afterwards Duke of *Bouillon*, and Marshal of *France*) Viscount of *Turenne*, Baron of *Montague*, &c, &c. assisted in that Assembly in the Name of the King of *Navarre*. There sat also in this Synod the Judges, Magistrates and Consuls of the said City of *St. Foy*.

A Publick Fast was ordered to be kept by all the Reformed Churches in the Kingdom, on the 25th of March next. Several Cases of Conscience were decided, as about marrying the Aunt of a deceased Wife, about Temporalities of Benefices, about Modes and Fashions of Dressing; and it was declared, that a Minister cannot together with his Ministry practise Physick.

Upon Perusal of the Memoirs and Instructions produced in a late Assembly of many Divines, from sundry Parts of the Protestant States of Europe, who met at *Francfort*, being invited thither by *John Casimir* Prince-Palatine and Duke of *Bavaria*; wherein several ways and means were proposed for uniting together all the Reformed and Protestant Churches of Christendom, and for composing the Differences amongst them fomented by their common Enemy, and for hindering some hot-headed bigotted Divines from condemning and anathematizing the Churches that differed from them in some Points, not material, as they threatned to do: Now that such imprudent and wicked Designs might be obviated and prevented, they did, after mature Deliberation, unanimously resolve and agree to draw up a Petition unto the Princes of the

Empire, adhering to the Confession of *Augsbourg*. Henry III. 1578.
Moreover they had given a strict Charge to draw *Pope Gregory XIII.*
up an uniform Confession of Faith, to be taken
and accounted as the general and common Confession of all Protestants and Reformed ; and to send several Copies of it unto all those Kingdoms and States wherein those Churches were situated, to be examined and approved by them. And they had also agreed upon the time when, and the place where, the Deputies of those Kingdoms and States might be assembled ; and especially they had invited the Churches of these Kingdoms to send thither some prudent, skilful, and experienced Persons, well approved of for their Piety and Integrity, and impowered by all the Churches with full Authority to treat, agree, and decide all Points of Doctrine, and other Matters concerning the Union, Peace, and Preservation of the Church, and of the pure Worship of God.

This present National Synod, blessing God for so good a Motion, and applauding the Care, Diligence, and good Counsel of the worthy Deputies in the fore-mentioned Assemblies, and approving the ways and means propounded and prescribed by them, doth now order, that if the Copy of the said Confession be sent timely unto us, it shall be examined in each of our provincial Synods, or in some other Place and Manner, as will best suit with the Conveniences of our respective Provinces ; and in the meanwhile four Ministers well vers'd in all Ecclesiastical Matters, are appointed as a Committee to examine that Affair, *viz.* Messieurs *Anthony De Chandieu*, and *John De Lestre*, Ministers of *Paris*, *Peter Merlin*, Minister of *Vitré*, and *Gabert*, late Minister of the French Church at *Francfort* ; and they are strictly charged and commanded to meet

Henry III. meet at the Day and Place appointed, with their
 1578. Letters of Deputation, and with a most full and
 Pope Gre- ample Commission from all the Ministers and
 gory XIII. Elders deputed by the Provinces of the King-
 dom, and there would accompany them the most
 illustrious Lord Viscount of *Turenne*, that so
 they may proceed to the Dispatch of Business
 set before them.

But in case the Provinces should neither have Opportunity nor Conveniency to examine the said Confession in their respective Synods, it is left unto their Prudence and soundest Judgment to agree and come to a Conclusion about all those Matters which shall be debated by them, whether they be Points of Doctrine, or any other Articles relating to the Peace, Union, and Happiness of all the Churches.

However that Resolution and their Endeavours came to nothing; and tho' the same thing has been attempted several times since, it hath never met with the desired Success, through the proud Stiffness of some Divines, who could never be brought to yield a Tittle towards so necessary an Union.

The same Commissaries deputed, as abovesaid, unto the said Conference in *Germany*, were ordered to peruse Mr. *de Cbandieu's* Treatise, entitled, *La Confirmation de la Discipline des Eglises Françaises*, and to approve it by subscribing to it with their own Hands, and to hasten as much as possible the Publication of it, with an Epistle Dedicatory TO THE CHURCH OF GOD.

Mr. *Esnard* having given an account to this Assembly of whatever had been transacted in the Synodical Assembly, held at *Francfort* in September, 1577; where he had been deputed by several Churches of *France*, according to his Commission and Instructions, bearing Date of
 the

the of June, 1577. the present Synod ^{Henry III.} were very well pleased with his whole Negocia-
tion, and approved of his whole Conduct during ^{1578.}
the time of his said Deputation, and they ho- ^{Pope Gre-}
nourably discharged him of the said Com- ^{gory XIII.}
mission.

Another Affair of very great moment came under the Consideration of this Synod. The Prince of *Condé* having accepted the Edict of Peace with great Demonstrations of Joy, as above said, it happened that some of his Ships made a Prize, which was brought into *Rochelle*; whereupon the *Rochellese* taking this for an Infraction of the late Treaty, made proper Remonstrances to his Highness upon that Subject, desiring him not to countenance such things, but the Prince insisted on it; then the Consistory took cognizance of the matter, and the Prince persisting in his first Resolution, they went so far as to suspend him from the Communion, which Order they notify'd unto him by some Deputies of their Body. But the Prince, unwilling to submit, appealed from their Sentence to the next National Synod, telling them, *That the said Prize was taken before the forty Days, allowed by the Edict for the publishing of it every where, were expired; and that it had been made upon the sworn Enemies of the King of NAVARRE, and of himself too: That it being a mere civil State-Matter, the Consistory had nothing to do with it.* Whereupon he was answered, *That the whole Church and City of ROCHELLE were greatly offended thereat, because they would be accounted Infractions of the publick Peace; and that they were commonly charged and reproached for such Prizes, as Harbourers and Concealers of Pirates; that for their part they could foresee nothing else, but that God's Vengeance would light*
down

Henry III. 1578. Pope Gregory XIII. down upon them, if they did not oppose such unlawful Practices, proceeding from certain Persons, who maliciously abused the Name and Authority of his Highness. Therefore they could do no less in Duty and Conscience; (considering the Office they held in the Church) than to endeavour by all proper means to extinguish the Fire of such a blazing Scandal; and they most humbly besought his Excellency the Prince to receive kindly this their Admonition, as proceeding not out of any ill Will, or bad Design against him; and that he would be pleased to exert his Authority, so that the Peace sworn by himself, might be kept and observed.

Now the Synod having maturely considered the whole Affair, owned and approved of the Zeal and good Affection of the Church and Consistory of *Rochelle*, in opposing themselves against scandalous Sins, and declared that in this respect they had not exceeded their Duty, and that they were authorized for doing so by the Word of God, which ought to be the Rule of all our Actions, and which cursed all those that gave scandal to the most inconsiderable of all Men; to which divine Word all of us must yield Obedience, in order to have Communion with our Lord *Jesus*. However they added, that they could have wished that the said Consistory had not been in such haste, and had deferred their Judgment in an Affair of that Importance, for avoiding all Suspicion of Animofities on both sides. And they besought his Excellency the Prince not to misconstrue the said Remonstrances which they judged but just and needful, grounded upon the Word of God; therefore they desired him to be pleased to remove the Occasion of the said Scandal, and to take in good part the Admonitions of the Church;

and

and be reconciled to it ; and they named Messieurs *Merlin, Bouquet, de la Tour, and St. Martin*, as their Deputies, to acquaint the Prince with this their Request, as well as the said Consistory, and to let him know that they had no other view but the perfect Union of their Members, to serve God in Holiness and Righteousness not giving any offence to those that are within or without ; which done, they took off the Suspension, and declared the said Prince to be restored to the Communion of the Lord's Table.

Henry III.
1578.
Pope Gregory XIII.

They made some other Regulations, and put an end to their Sessions on the 14th of February, as above said. (y).

Great Difficulties arose every where in the Execution of the late Edict ; it had been published in *Dauphiné* and *Languedoc*, in the last Month of October ; but the Animosities of the Parties were greater one against another in these Provinces, than any where else. Several Messages passed for the two or three last Months of 1577, between *Des Gordes* Deputy-Governor of *Dauphiné*, and *Les Diguieres* Chief of the Reformed in that Province, to find ways and means of removing these Jealousies and Animosities. At last, by the Interposition of Marshal *de Bellegarde*, they agreed to meet together at *le Buys*, to consult about the means of putting the said Edict in execution.

CXII.
Great Difficulties in the Execution of the Edict.

That Marshal had contracted a strict Union with the Duke of *Savoy*, who supported him with all his Might in his Government of *Saluces*. That Prince had engaged him to attempt things of a much higher Nature, than whatever he had done before ; they had agreed together, that he should demand the Commission for executing the

V. III. PART II.

R

Edict

(y) Quick's Synodicon, Tom. I. pag. 116—125. Aymon Synodes Nationaux, Tom. I. p. 126—137.

Henry III. 1578. Pope Gregory XIII. Edict in the Provinces of *Provence, Dauphiné, and Lyonnois*, which could not be denied to his Quality of Marshal of *France*; upon which pretence he should fill up the strong Places which the Reformed would deliver up into his hands, (*according to the Edict*) with Garisons and Commanders at his own Devotion; and by these means he would reduce under his Power those Provinces bordering upon the Frontiers of *Italy* and the *Spanish* Dominions. The Marshal foresaw no great Difficulty in the Execution of that Scheme, especially if the Reformed would countenance it, or at least not oppose it; and he thought, that he should easily win them to his Interest. With this Confidence he began to treat with *Les Diguieres*, and let him know, that he had received the King's Commission for causing the Edict to be executed in the above-said Provinces; but that he had been unwilling to undertake any thing, without first knowing of him whether the Reformed would submit to the said Edict, and restore the Towns and Fortresses to the King, because if he knew any thing to the contrary, he chose rather to deliver up his Commission to another, than be exposed to the shame of being refused.

Les Diguieres being sensible that the Friendship of the Marshal could be but useful to him and his Party, but thinking that it was not proper to open as yet his mind with him, answered ambiguously, and told *Anselme* the Marshal's Confident, and *le Molar* Secretary to the Duke of *Savoy*, that if those who had the King's Confidence would deal sincerely with him, no doubt but the Reformed would execute faithfully every Article of the late Edict; but otherwise they would not restore the said Places, till they had provided for their own Safety, if they could perceive

perceive any Insincerity in those who were charged with the Execution of the Edict: Therefore it was his own Business to see what were his Majesty's and his Minister's Intentions, before he should undertake to execute his Commission; for the rest, that he and the Reformed would be always very glad to keep a good Correspondence with a Person of his Quality and so much deserving, even tho' to provide for their own Safety they should be obliged not to submit to all the Articles of the said Edict (z).

Henry III.
1578.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Bellegarde seeing by this Answer, that *Les Diguieres* did not care to open himself as far as he had expected, he delayed his Design till a better Opportunity; and went to *Villeneuve d'Avignon*, without coming to the Place appointed for the Conference, mentioned above.

At this same time *John of Montluc*, Bishop of *Valence* in *Dauphiné*, received Commission to repair to *Languedoc* to execute the Edict: Accordingly he set out from *Valence* on the 14th of February, and came to *Uzes*, where he found the Reformed in a great Uproar, on account of the Borough of *St. Anastase* seized of late by the Catholics, but by his great Moderation he found means of appeasing them; and a Copy of his Speech, made on that occasion, was sent by a Notary to *Nimes* and *Montpellier*.

At last, after the Return of *Mariet Daverano*, deputed by the States of *Languedoc* to Court,

R 2

who

(z) Thuan. lib. 66. But the Biographer of the Constable de Les Diguieres differs a little from Thuanus, especially he observes, that King Philip had the chief hand in this Transaction of *Bellegarde* by the means of the Duke of Savoy, who was entirely in the Interest of Spain; and this Philip did it out of spite and revenge, because of the Queen Mother's Pretensions upon Portugal, after King Sebastian's Death. Vidal Hist. du Connet. Les Diguieres; liv. 2. ch. 1.

Henry III. who assured them of the King's Good-will and
 1578. Intention to maintain his Edict, it was agreed
 Pope Gre- unanimously between the Catholicks and the
 gory XIII. Reformed on the 5th of April, to keep and ob-
 serve religiously the same; to assist mutually one
 another for opposing those who would not sub-
 mit, or who should disturb for the future the
 publick Peace, and bring them to a condign
 Punishment, &c. Which Agreement was sworn
 to and subscribed by the Deputies of the States
 there present.

In the mean while, the time appointed for the
 Conference of *le Buys* being near an end, *des*
Gordes, Deputy-Governor of *Dauphiné*, set out
 for that Place; but being seized with a violent
 Sicknefs at *Montelimar*, he died there a few Days
 after; and was succeeded by *Lawrence* Father
 to *Francis de Maugiron*, who was in great fa-
 vour with the King, and who readily obtained
 that Place for his Father. He was no sooner
 named than he was obliged to set out for his
 Government, with *James Faye*, Lord d'Espeffe,
 joined with him for compounding the Matters
 in *Dauphiné*.

The Conferences were opened at *le Buys*,
 where after several Debates, *Maugiron* being wil-
 ling to blot out of People's Minds the Prejudices
 which his former Conduct in Francis II. and
 Charles IXth's Reigns had raised against him,
 agreed with *Les Diguieres*, that the Reformed
 might keep the strong Places that were then in
 their hands, till all the Articles of the late E-
 dict should be performed; and that the King
 would pay two thousand Crowns a Month for
 maintaining their Garisons.

This Agreement was no sooner known at
 Court by his own Letters, but the Queen-Mo-
 ther, who was upon her Departure for *Guienne*,

was

was very angry at it; and made very heavy Complaints of it to the King, as of a thing which would be of vast prejudice to what she was going to undertake in *Guienne*.

Henry III.
1578.
Pope Gregory XIII.

Every one thought that *Maugiron* would be utterly undone, if his Son's Favour with the King did not shelter him against his Majesty's just Indignation; and nothing but the said Favour was able to save him, which however hindered not his Majesty from upbraiding him severely by his Letters, for what he had done; and indeed it was to be feared, lest other Provinces should follow the Example of *Dauphiné*, and require the same Terms, whereby there would be no end of the Troubles.

At last, being advised by his Son to do the King some service, whereby the Odium of his late Transaction should be blotted out, and the Queen's Hatred against him mollified; he endeavoured to persuade the *Dauphinese* to treat with the King separately from other Provinces, whereby they would obtain much better Terms; but they excused themselves, and said, that they could not treat without the King of *Navarre's* Consent, nor separate their Cause from that of the Reformed Churches of the Kingdom. Nevertheless, either by Authority or Favour, he obtained, that they would set down in Writing the Articles which they required, which having been shewn first unto him, they would send them to the King of *Navarre* by a Deputy of their own, who should know of him whether he approved of these Terms, and would consent that they should treat with the King separately; that if he was so pleased, then they would treat with his Majesty.

Accordingly *Calignon* was deputed to the King of *Navarre*, then at *Nerac*; and his Ma-

Henry III. 1578. *Pope Gregory XIII.* jesty, who knew very well the Probity of this Deputy, and *Les Diguieres* who had sent him, consented that he should treat about that Affair with the Queen-Mother, who was then just arrived at *Nerac*. For that Prince judged rightly, that his Mother-in-law, in order to separate the *Dauphinese's* Cause from his own, would readily grant them better Terms than otherwise; which would make a Precedent for other Provinces, to require the same things. And if she denied the *Dauphinese*, they could lose nothing by that Denial, since they would be always at liberty to join their Cause with that of other Provinces.

It happened just as that wise Prince had foreseen, for the Queen granted several things to *Calignon*, whereof the Deputies of other Provinces made use, and required the same things for themselves; and as to other things, which the Deputy of *Dauphiné* declared he could not agree to, the Queen directed him to the King, with Promise that he should receive Satisfaction.

Therefore *Calignon* having obtained leave of the King of *Navarre*, set out for Court, with Letters of Recommendation from the Queen-Mother. He was very kindly received by the King, and obtained such Terms of his Majesty that he himself questioned not but his Countrymen would be satisfied with them. Nevertheless, when the King insisted with him to certify under his hand, that the Reformed of *Dauphiné* would be satisfied with these terms, he declined to do it, saying, that he had no Instructions to promise any such things; but that he would give a faithful Account of whatever his Majesty would be pleased to command him, and of whatever he had heard in his Council, and do his best Endeavours to engage his own Countrymen to

accept of the Conditions his Majesty tendered to them, which he deemed himself very reasonable.

Henry III.
1578.
Pope Gregory XIII.

But being returned to his Country, he was much surprized to find People's Minds disposed quite otherwise than he expected; for they thought that they could not be in safety, did they lay down their Arms and restore the Places, wherein they kept Garisons. And tho' they were willing to observe the Edict, nevertheless they desired to have the King intreated to make some further Provision for their own Safety; being afraid lest they should be exposed to the merciless Revenge and Fury of the Catholics, as soon as they should have laid down their Arms.

And indeed all the Inhabitants of that Province were then in Arms, and in a furious Disposition to revenge one upon another the Outrages they had received during the late Troubles; and wanted less of Courage than a Chief, to execute their Designs.

There was at this time one Captain *la Prade*, who kept *Chateaudouble* in *Diois*, a violent and rapacious Man; who, with his Men, never hearkening to what his Commanders could say, scorned to obey their Orders, raising Taxes at his own Will, and never forbearing from IncurSIONS tho' Truces had been agreed between both Parties; in a word, a cruel and perfect Robber; that Man had drawn upon the Reformed, to whom he adhered, the Hatred of the whole Country. Therefore *Maugiron* perswaded them and the Catholics to join their Forces together to expel such a Rogue out of the Province, and for that purpose to attack him at *Chateaudouble*; which done, *la Prade*, who till now had been so

Henry III. proud and insolent thro' Impunity, surrendered
 1578. himself basely, and was punished according to
Pope Gre- his Deserts.
gory XIII.

Now *Maugiron* affecting to be more popular than usual to the Catholicks, became more and more suspected by the Reformed, with whom he had dealt at first very civilly and kindly; for the wiser sort amongst them thought that it did not behove him, the Matters being not as yet settled, to shew himself more inclining for one Party than for another, if he had not some secret Design in his Head.

At the Court of *Navarre*, the King severely punished some, who had distinguished themselves by their Plunders and Robberies; and having withdrawn the Garrisons from several Places, at the coming of *Biron* into *Guienne*, who had been sent before by the Queen-Mother, his Majesty was sensible but too late of his Error, having lost by that means several valiant Men, who took party elsewhere; and *Biron* put strong Garisons into the same Places, from whence he had taken out his own; because the Reformed being in much greater Number in those Places than the Catholicks, he thought that they had no want of Garisons, being able to defend themselves: which Deed of *Biron* was quite contrary to an Article of the late Edict, whereby it was expressly said, That no Garison should be put in those Places, where there was none in *Henry II*'s Times.

Therefore the King of *Navarre* thought proper to be more cautious for the future, and was more indulgent for those of his own, and upon several pretences he retained those Places where he had Garisons (a).

At

(a) Thuanus, lib.

At this time began the Conferences at *Nerac*, Henry III. between the King's Deputies, which the Queen-^{1578.} Mother had brought along with her, and those *Pope Gregory XIII.* of the Reformed Churches; which lasted all the Winter of 1578, and ended the last Day of February, 1579; but before we come to the Conclusion of these Conferences, it will be proper *CXIII.* to relate some remarkable Events of this Year. *Conferences of Nerac begun.*

While the Queen-Mother was in the South of *France*, the King, giving too much Credit *CXIV.* to his Favourites Reports, had a mind to arrest *The Duke of Anjou's second Escape.* his Brother the Duke of Anjou; and Espernon's Biographer says positively, that he was put under Arrest, and that upon the third or fourth Day he found means to make his Escape: but I chuse to follow Thuanus's Relation, who tells us, that the King, indulging too far the Affections of private Persons, estranged himself from his Brother, whom he thought to plot something against his Authority, and began to dread him; and by his Behaviour towards him, he made him to suspect that he intended to put him under Arrest: Whereupon the Duke having imparted his Fears to his Favourites, they were far from endeavouring to appease him; contrarywise, they magnified the Danger he was in so much, that he resolved to make his Escape, which he executed one Evening after having supp'd with the King his Brother, and had had with him several familiar Discourses. When the King heard of this, he was in amaze! He caused the Gates of the City to be shut up, for fear of the worst, and ordered the Chief Counsellors of his Brother to be seized, and sent to the *Bastile*; amongst whom was *Claudius de la Châtre*, Governor of Berry. But he was released as soon as the said Duke had written to the King from *Alençon*, excusing his sudden Departure, and promising to be

Henry III. be faithful to his Majesty's Service, beseeching
 1578. that his Servants should be set at liberty (b).

Pope Gre-
 gory XIII.

CXV.

Queen
 Marga-
 ret's Re-
 ception at
 Bour-
 deaux.

The Queen-Mother brought along with her
 her Daughter *Margaret*, the King of *Navarre's*
 Consort, who had remained at Court since her
 Husband's Escape. Her Mother took care that
 she should meet with a Royal Reception at *Bour-
 deaux*; thinking, that by that means she would
 be received more kindly by her Son-in-law,
 who was Governor of *Guienne*, because he had
 been formerly denied Admittance into that Ca-
 pital of his own Government (c).

CXVI.

A Duel
 fought be-
 tween the
 King's
 Minions.

Now the King, having received the Satis-
 faction above-mentioned of his Brother d'Anjou,
 was thinking to return to his old way of living;
 when a new unforeseen Accident happen'd, which
 affected him more than any thing else, viz. the
 Death of some of his Darlings, that were killed
 either on the spot in a Duel, or who died of the
 Wounds they had received. *James Levi de
 Quelus*, his dearest Minion, had a quarrel with
Charles de Balsac de Dunes, Brother to *Francis
 d'Entragues*; the occasion whereof is not well
 known. The first challenged this, and having
 appointed the time and the place, they both came;
Quelus attended by *Livarot* and *Maugiron* the
 younger, and *de Dunes* by *Ribeyrac* and *George
 Schomberg*. They all fought desperately one a-
 gainst another, *Maugiron* was killed upon the
 spot by *Ribeyrac*, *Schomberg* was thrust through
 and through by *Livarot*, and this was dan-
 gerously wounded in the Head by his Adver-
 sary. *Quelus* and *Ribeyrac* were mortally wound-
 ed; *Ribeyrac* died in *Guise's* House, and *Quelus*
 who had his Lungs thrust through, languished
 for some Weeks. The King's Affliction cannot
 be expressed: He attended him constantly at his
 Bed-

(b) Id. ibid.

(c) Id. ibid.

Bed-side, was present every time that he was Henry III.
 dressed, and administered unto him every thing ^{1578.}
 that he was to take ; but all his Cares and large ^{Pope Gre-}
 Promises, even of two hundred thousand ^{gory XIII.}
 Crowns to the Surgeons, availed nothing, DEAR
 QUELUS died. His Grief went beyond all
 bounds : He would have him lie in State, which
 Honour was then paid only to Persons of the
 first Rank, and ordered him to be buried with
 a solemn Funeral Pomp, the whole Court at-
 tending at St. Paul's Church with *Maugiron*. It
 is observed, that after *Quelus's* Death, the King
 did things very unbecoming to his Majesty ; for
 he embraced him a long while, and then he
 took off his Ears the Rings which he had put on
 himself the Day before he was wounded, and
 cut off some of his Hairs, which he kept precious-
 ly as a Relick. *St. Megrin* having been killed a little
 after by the Duke of *Mayenne's* Orders, for
 some Indiscretion of his, he caused him to be
 buried in the same Vault with *Maugiron* and
Quelus, and erected three Statues of Marble
 upon their Tomb, which made the People very
 uneasy, seeing their King so far forgetful of
 his Dignity ; and those Statues were afterwards,
 in the great *Rebellion*, pulled out of the Church,
 they had their Noses and Ears cut off, and were
 dragged in the Mud through the Streets (*d*).

The King, about the same time, laid the first
 Stone of the New Bridge, at *Paris*.

The States of *Burgundy* being assembled at CXVII.
Dijon, in the Month of November, resolved ^{Sharp Re-}
 unanimously to remonstrate to the King about the ^{monstran-}
 Male-Administration of the Government, and the ^{ces of the}
 wretched State of the Nation ; and tho' they ^{States of}
 were very sharp in their Censures, nevertheless ^{Burgundy}
 the King thought proper to dissemble, and to ^{to the King.}
 give

Henry III. give them some Satisfaction, by exempting that Province from paying some new Taxes that were levied every where else.

1579.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

On the 1st Day of the Year 1579, was instituted the Military Order of the Knights of the *Holy Ghost*; that of *St Michael* instituted by *Lewis XI* was fallen into such contempt, having been bestowed promiscuously on every one who had a mind for it, that it was called the Collar for all sorts of Beasts. Therefore the King executed now the Scheme, which he had laid down four Years before with the Cardinal of *Lorrain*. But tho' he pretended that he was the Author of this Institution, and for keeping a grateful Remembrance of the Favours God had bestowed upon him on *Whitsunday*, being born and having been elected King of *Poland* and being come to the Crown of France upon that Day, it is certain that it had been first instituted by *Lewis* of *Anjou*, King of *Jerusalem* and *Sicily*, and in the Year 1352; and that the Republick of *Venice* had made a present of the Original of the Rules and Institutes of that Order. King *Henry* finding some Conformity between himself and *Lewis* of *Anjou*, alias of *Tarente*, who had received the two Crowns of *Jerusalem* and *Sicily* upon the same day as he did those of *Poland* and *France*, took it as a good Omen, and resolved to ascribe to himself the Honour of being the first Institutor of that noble Order; and after having transcribed and commented the Statutes, he gave orders to *Chiverni* to burn the Original; which Orders however *Chiverni* made a scruple to obey, and to destroy such a rare Monument, which, besides the Merit of the Subject and of its Antiquity, was most valuable for the beautiful Miniatures in Velum, which represent the History of whatever is contained

in

in every Canon or Statute. That Book came ^{Henry III.} afterwards into the possession of *Philip Hurault*, ^{1579.} Bishop of *Chartres*, Son to Chancellor de *Chiverni*; from him it came to Messire *René* of *Longueil*, Lord de *Maisons*, and President of the Parliament of *Paris*; but I can't tell who has it now. Howbeit, by Henry's Institution the Number of Knights were fixed to an hundred, and none but Catholicks could be admitted amongst them: They were obliged to swear to the Maintenance of the Catholick Religion, and to the Extirpation of all Heretical Sectaries (e).

Now the Queen-Mother having been all this while at *Nerac*, to hear the Complaints of the Reformed of *Guienne*, *Languedoc*, and other Provinces; and to apply proper Remedies, and pacify the Troubles: After several Debates they agreed at last upon the following Articles, on the 28th of February, which I shall transcribe here.

CXIX.
*Conclusion
of the Con-
ferences of
Nerac.*

The Articles of the Conference of Nerac agreed to between the Queen-Mother, the King of Navarre, and the Deputies of the Reformed.

IN order to facilitate the last Edict of Pacification, made in September 1577, and to clear and resolve the Difficulties that have interposed, and that might retard the good effect of the said Edict, it has been resolved at the Request and Supplications of those of the said pretended Reformed Religion, and agreed upon, as followeth, in the Conference held at *Nerac*, in this present Month of February, 1579. between the Queen-Mother, assisted by some Princes and Lords of the King's Privy-Council, and the King

(e) Continuation des Mem. de Castelnau, Tom. III. pag. 41—46. Thuan. lib. 68.

Henry III. King of *Navarre*, also assisted by the Deputy of the Prince of *Condé*, Lords and Gentlemen, and the Deputies of those of the pretended *Reform'd* Religion.

1579.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

I. That the *Higb-Justicers*, or those that hold full *Fief of Haubert*, either in Proper or *Uſe-Fruit*, in the whole *Moiety* or third, shall be allow'd to continne the Exercise of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, in the Places by them nam'd for their principal Abode, although they and their Wives are absent from the same, provided part of their Families remain in the same Places; and though the Right of Justice, or full *Fief of Haubert* be call'd in question, yet the Exercise of the said Religion shall be continu'd there, provided the abovesaid Persons are still in actual possession of the said Justice. And as for the publick Exercise of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, in the Places ordain'd by the King, in case any of the said Places prove inconvenient, they petitioning the King to have it remov'd elsewhere, his Majesty shall provide them another that shall be convenient for them.

II. That according to certain Letters-Patent granted by the King, given at *Paris* on the 13th of November, 1677. conformably to the eleventh Article of what was agreed on at *Bergerac*, on the 16th of September in the said Year, 1577. which through inadvertency had been omitted in the last Edict of Pacification: Those of the said pretended *Reformed* Religion are allow'd to buy, build, or construct places to perform the said Exercise of Religion, in the Suburbs of Cities, or in Towns and Villages that are or shall be allow'd them in every Bailiwick and Seneschalship, or Government, and in the Places where the

the Exercise of the said Religion is allow'd them ^{Henry III.} by the Edict. And such as shall be found in ^{1579.} the said Places, that have been built by them, ^{Pope Gregory XIII.} shall be restor'd to them in the same condition they now are.

III. Those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, are allow'd to assemble before the Judge Royal, and by his Authority to assess and raise among themselves such Sums as shall be thought necessary to be employ'd for the Maintenance of those amongst them who perform the Exercises of their said Religion, of which an account shall be given to the said Judge-Royal for him to keep.

IV. That according to the twentieth Article of the Edict of Pacification, the Judges and Magistrates of Cities shall forthwith provide convenient Places for the Burial of the Dead, of those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion. And the said Officers and others are forbidden to ask any thing for the Transportation of the said Corps, on pain of Execution.

V. And to prevent all Differences that might arise between the Courts of Parliament, and the *Chambers* of the said Courts ordain'd by the said Edict, the King shall speedily make a good and large Regulation between the said Courts of Parliament and the said Chambers: Insomuch that those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion shall fully enjoy the Benefit of the said Edict: The Establishment of the Chamber of *Languedoc* shall also speedily be perform'd in pursuance of the said Edict. And in case at any time hereafter the Number of Judges should not be sufficient in the same, by reason of the great Number of Causes, those of the said Religion shall apply themselves to his said Majesty, who will make sufficient provision for it. As to what relates

Henry III. relates to the King's Council, the secret Articles of the Year 1577, shall be observed both as to what relates to the Chamber of *Languedoc*, and that of *Guienne*. Nevertheless, the said King's Council shall be continu'd in their Places, without being liable to Revocation, unless in the cases of the Ordinance, although they bear the Title of Substitutes, of Advocates and Attorneys-General in the said Courts of Parliament. The Committees of the Registers Civil and Criminal in the said Chamber, shall continue in their Places by the King's Commission, and shall be call'd Committees of the *Registry Civil and Criminal, and therefore shall not be liable to be turn'd out, or to be revok'd by the said Registers of Parliament, and that they shall be bound to yield the Emolument or Profit of the said Registries to the said Registers, and the said Committee shall receive Salaries from the said Registers, according as it shall be thought fit, and agreed upon by the said Chambers. And as for the Messengers, besides those that shall be taken out of the said Parliament, who shall be Catholicks, two more shall be erected in every Chamber, who shall be of the said Religion. And the said Messengers shall be directed by the said Chambers, both as to the Execution of their Places, their District, and the Fees they shall take. In the Cities where the said Chambers shall be erected, there shall also be two Offices of Serjeants, to be kept by those of the said Religion. And as to Attorneys, the Attorneys of the said Parliament shall be allow'd to plead in the said Chambers. And in case their Number should not be sufficient, the King shall create some without paying of Fees, who shall be nominated by the said Chambers, in such a Number as they shall think fit, provided

1579.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

*In French
Greffe.

provided it does not exceed ten; of which they shall send a Roll, according to which their Patents shall be made and seal'd. The Expeditions of the Chanceries, or Seal-Officers, shall be made in presence of two Counsellors of the said Chambers, of which the one shall be a Catholick, and the other one of the aforesaid Religion: In the absence of one of the Masters of Requests belonging to the King's Hostel, one of the Notaries and Secretaries of the said Courts of Parliament shall reside in the Places where the said Chambers shall be establish'd, or one of the Secretaries in ordinary of the Chancery, to sign the Expeditions of the said Chancery. And it has been agreed that the Chamber of *Languedoc* shall be settled in the City of *L'Isle in Albigeois*.

As to the Decrees given in the Courts of Parliament since the said Edict, in which Courts the Parties have not proceeded voluntarily, that is, have alledg'd and propounded Ends declinatory; or that have been denounc'd through default, both in matters Civil and Criminal, notwithstanding which the said Parties have been constrain'd to go forward; they shall be deem'd and reputed as those that have been given before the Edict, and revok'd by the same. The same is ordain'd for the presidial Judgments given since the Edict, and for the Cases abolish'd by the said Edict, and by the present Conference. And as for the Decrees given against those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, who have proceeded voluntarily, without proposing Ends declinatory, the said Decrees shall remain in force. Yet nevertheless without Prejudice to the Execution of the same, they shall be allow'd, if they think fit, to take some course by way of Civil Request before the said Chambers. And

Henry III. until the said Chambers and their Chanceries are
 1579. establish'd, Verbal Appeals, and those in Writing
 Pope Gre- interpos'd by those of the said Religion, before
 gory XIII. Judges, Registers or Committees, Executors of
 Judgments and Decrees, shall have the same
 effect as if they had been sued out by Letters-
 Patent. And as for Processes not yet deter-
 min'd, depending in the said Courts of Parlia-
 ment, of the Quality abovesaid, they shall be
 return'd, whatever Condition they are in, into
 the said Chambers to which they have their re-
 ference, if requir'd by one of the Parties, and
 according to the Edict, within four Months, in
 such Provinces where the Chambers are establish-
 ed, after the registering of these present Articles :
 And as for the other Provinces in which they are
 not yet establish'd, four Months after the Esta-
 blishment thereof, before the Registers of the said
 Courts of Parliament, and that for Suits that are
 ready for tryal. And as for such as shall be discon-
 tinu'd, and are not ready to be judg'd, the above-
 mention'd of the pretended *Reform'd* Religion shall
 be oblig'd to make the said Declaration, at the
 first intimation and signification that shall be made
 unto them of the Pursuit ; and the said term
 being expir'd, they shall no more be admitted
 to demand the said Returns. And as for the
 Suits remov'd either in the Courts of Parliament,
 Great Council, or elsewhere, those of the said
 Religion giving a particular account of the said
 Suits, Provision shall be made for the same.

VII. All Sovereign Courts and others, within
 this Kingdom, are prohibited and forbidden,
 (before the setting up of the said Chambers) to
 take cognizance of, and to judge the Processes
 either Civil or Criminal of those of the said
 Religion, and others who have been engag'd
 in their Party, the Cognizance whereof by the
 last

last Edict of Peace is referr'd to the said Cham-
bers. The Prohibitions contain'd in the twenty-
sixth Article of the said Edict of Pacification
about the Cognizance of Matters relating to the
Troubles until now, shall also be reiterated:
And generally all Judgments and Decrees given
to the contrary, and to the prejudice of the Ed-
ict, shall be annihilated and revok'd, together
with all that has follow'd thereupon.

VIII. That henceforward in all *Instructions*,
other than Informations of Criminal Process in
the Seneschalships of *Toulouse, Carcassonne,*
Rouergue, Lauragais, Beziers, Montpellier; and
Nimes, the Magistrate or Commissary deputed
for the said Instruction, if he be a Catholick,
shall be oblig'd to take an Associate of the said
pretended *Reform'd Religion*, which the Parties
shall approve of: And in case they cannot agree
about it, the above-nam'd Magistrate or Com-
missary shall take one of the said Religion out
of the Office; as in like manner if the said
Magistrate or Commissary be of the said Religion,
he shall be oblig'd in the Form abovesaid to take
a Catholick Assistant. And when any occasion
of Criminal Trials shall occur before the Provost
Marshals, or their Lieutenants against any one of
the said Religion, being an Householder, who shall
be charg'd and accus'd of any publick Crime,
the said Provosts, or their Lieutenants, if they be
Catholicks, shall be bound to call to the hearing
of such a matter an Assistant of the said Reli-
gion: The which Associate shall assist also at
the Judgment of the Competency or Validity
of the Indictment, as well as at the definitive
Judgment of the Process. The Validity of
which Indictment, shall only be judg'd at the
nearest presidial Seat or Tribunal in an Assembly,

Henry III. before the principal Officers of the said Tribunal, who shall be found there, on pain of Nullity.

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Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

IX. In putting the said Edict of Pacification in execution, the Seats of Justice shall be re-establish'd at *Montauban, Montpellier, Nimes*, and in all other Places where they used to be before the Troubles.

X. The Mint shall be re-establish'd in the City of *Montpellier*, as it used to be before the Troubles.

XI. The King in order to remove all occasion of Dissensions that might create the least Division among his Subjects, ordains that whatever has happen'd since the Publication of the said last Edict, until now, against, and to the prejudice of the said Edict, on either side, shall remain extinguish'd, and be forgotten as if no such thing had ever been. And that no body shall be prosecuted upon the account of the levying and gathering of Soldiers in Cities, or in open Fields, establishing and maintaining of Garrisons, Enterprizes upon and Seizures of Cities, Places, Castles and Houses, Murders, Imprisonments, Ransoms, or any other Excess; neither for destroying of Churches, Houses and Buildings belonging to Ecclesiasticks and others; of all which, the said Subjects on both sides shall be and remain acquitted and discharg'd: Neither shall his Majesty's Attorney-General, or any other Persons publick or private, at any time, or on any account soever, be allow'd to make any Prosecutions of the same in any Court of Jurisdiction, nor in any wise whatever. The whole in the same Form and Manner as it is express'd by the fifty-fifth Article of the last Edict of Pacification; excepting Ravishments of Women, &c. Incendiaries, Robberies, Murders committed treacherously and with Premeditation,

and

and not by way of Hostility, on account of Henry III. private Revenge, and other Crimes and Misde-^{1579.}meanours reserv'd by the last Edict of Pacifica-
Pope Gregory XIII.
tion, which shall be prosecuted according to Law, and punish'd according to the Nature of the same. And as to what relates to the Money that has been taken, either out of his Majesty's Exchequers, or out of Cities and Commonalties, and from other private Persons; and the Sums that have been impos'd and rais'd of any kind whatever, and howsoever rais'd by those of the said Religion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party since the said Edict of Pacification, they are and shall remain absolutely discharg'd for the same, without their being any wise liable to be prosecuted upon the said account; nor those who shall have order'd it, Corporations of Cities and Commonalties, nor yet their Clerks. Nevertheless those of the said Religion shall be oblig'd to assemble with the Corporations of those Cities; to make a true estimate among them, on the last Day of April next at farthest, both of their Receipts and Expences: The which Estimate they shall be oblig'd to sign and jointly to affirm, and to deliver the same within the said time of two Months, into the hands of those that are appointed to execute the said Edict of Pacification in *Languedoc*, to the end that upon the said Estimate the Chamber of Accounts may pass into Receipt, and allow in expence what shall be contain'd in the said Estimate, and no more. And in order to check the Insolence of several, and to prevent those Evils for the future, the King declares that hereafter he will no more grant any Pardons for the abovesaid, or the like Transgressions of the Edict: And forbids his Chancellor or Lord-Keeper to seal any such, and his Judges

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 gory XIII

to have the least regard for the same. And in case any of those to whom this Pardon is granted should relapse into the same Fault, they shall not only be punish'd for the new Fault, but shall also be depriv'd of the Fruit and Benefit which is granted them by this Article.

XII. That all Processes and Causes concerning the case of the said Troubles that have been return'd by the Commissioners Executors of the preceding Edict of Pacification, before the pre-sidial Judges or other Judges, shall be return'd in the state they now stand to the said *Chambers of the Edict*; the King not intending that any of his Subjects should be prosecuted for what has been done since the last Troubles, according to the fifty-fifth Article of the said last Edict: And in case any of the said Processes should already be judg'd, the Parties shall be allow'd to apply themselves for Redress, by the ways of Right, to the said Chambers of the Edict.

XIII. Whereas at the beginning of the forty-second Article of the said last Edict of Pacification, in several common Impressions that have been made of the same, these Words are found; *And that shall have been taken by way of Hostility*, by way of affirmation, altho' it should be conceiv'd negatively, and in this manner. *And that shall not have been taken by way of Hostility*: As it is written in the Original agreed on and sign'd at *Bergerac*, on the 17th of September, 1577. It is ordain'd, that it shall be corrected by the said Original; and all Judges are enjoin'd to judge conformably to this present Correction.

XIV. That all Assessments, Impositions, Gatherings, raising of Money and new Subsidies, by whomsoever, and on any account whatever, unless by the King's express Commission, shall cease, and that none shall be made otherwise

hereafter, on the Penalties mentioned in the Henry III.
Ordinances.

XV. The General Assemblies of Cities and Corporations, shall be made according to the 1579.
ancient Customs, and such Inhabitants as used to Pope Gre-
come to the same, shall be summon'd thither gory XIII.
without distinction of Religion, according to
the last Edict of Pacification, Article nineteenth.

XVI. That the Edict of Pacification, and what has been resolv'd in this Conference, shall be executed in every Article, according to its Form and Tenor, and that the said Execution thereof shall begin on the first Day of March next coming at farthest, and shall be continu'd in *Guienne* without Interruption on either side. And as for *Languedoc*, the said Execution or Performance shall begin on the 1st Day of April next coming at farthest; but that in the mean time all Prisoners of War shall be set at liberty, without paying any Ransom: And all Acts of Hostility, and other Transgressions of the Edict in general, shall cease, according to the Commissions that have been issu'd out to that end, which shall be sent every where in the Governments of *Guienne*, *Languedoc*, and other Provinces, when it shall be necessary.

XVII. It has also been agreed by the said Lady Queen-Mother to his Majesty the King of *Navarre*, and all the above-mention'd, that all the Cities and Places kept by those of the said Religion, shall be restor'd in the Governments of *Guienne*, and *Languedoc*, at the time declar'd by the preceding Article: And the Edict of Pacification shall be put entirely in execution in the same; as also and by the same means, in the other Cities where the Catholicks are more numerous, neither Parties being allow'd to put Garisons into them: And thus the In-

Henry III. habitants of the same, of both Religions shall
 1579. remain under the special Safeguard of the King
 Pope Gre- our Sovereign Lord, it being forbidden on pain
 gory XIII. of Death, to wrong them, or to undertake any
 thing against the Liberty and Safety of the said
 Cities. Nevertheless, for surety of what is
 above-written, and for an Assurance of the Exe-
 cution of the said Edict, the King leaves and
 gives in keeping to the said King of *Navarre*
 the following Cities: In the Government of
Guienne, Bazas, Puymenol and Figeac, until the
 last Day of August next ensuing, and no longer:
 And in the Government of *Languedoc, Revel,*
Briateste, Aleth, Santei, Agreve, Baiz sur Baiz,
Baignols, Alez, Lunel, Schmieres, Aymargues,
and Gignac, until the 1st Day of October also
 next ensuing, and no longer: On condition,
 and no otherwisc, that they shall make no Forti-
 fications there, nor demolish Churches and o-
 ther Places, nor act any thing else contrary to
 the Edict.

XVIII. That the Ecclesiasticks, and other
 Catholick Inhabitants shall be receiv'd again into
 the said Cities without any difficulty, and shall
 fully enjoy all their Estates, and the Fruits, or
 the Revenues of the same: That they shall per-
 form Divine Service in the same, according to
 the Use of the Catholick Church: That Justice
 shall also be freely administred there: That the
 King's Money, as well ordinary as extraordinary,
 shall be rais'd and receiv'd there: And that the
 Edict shall be entirely kept and observ'd there.
 And the same shall be done, according to the
 said Edict, in relation to those of the said pre-
 tended *Reform'd* Religion, in the other Cities
 where the Catholicks are more in number. It
 is also resolv'd, That the Magistrates and Offi-
 cers of the Cities shall take care to see it per-
 form'd,

form'd, on pain of being suspended from their Offices for the first time, and on forfeit of them for the second.

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gory XIII.

XIX. That the said Cities during the time heretofore declar'd, shall be govern'd by Persons of Integrity, Lovers of Peace and Publick Good, who shall be nominated by the King of *Navarre*, and approv'd by the said Lady the Queen-Mother, who shall engage and be bound with six in the chief, and four in the other of the said Towns, the same well to preserve in their Obedience to the King, and to cause the Edict to be well maintain'd, and what has been now resolv'd between the said Lady the Queen-Mother and the said King of *Navarre*, to maintain all the Inhabitants thereof in safety, according to the said Edict, and namely to restore the said Cities, *viz.* those of the Government of *Guienne*, on the 1st Day of September next coming; and those of the Government of *Languedoc* on the 1st Day of October also next coming, into the hands of the Person the King shall be pleased to depute to go to the said Cities, to see them forthwith restor'd in the Condition set down in the said Edict of Pacification, without putting any Governor or Garison into the same, and without removing the Ammunitions and Artillery that is in the said Cities, belonging either to the King, or to the Commonalties of the said Cities.

XX. The said King of *Navarre* has also remitted the *Mur de Barais*, to the said Lady Queen, who upon his Nomination has agreed to trust the Keeping thereof to Monsieur *d'Arpajon*, to have it in charge until the said first Day of August next. At which time the said Monsieur *d'Arpajon* shall be oblig'd to surrender it into the hands of the Commissary, who shall repair to the other Cities to leave them in the Condition men-

tioned

Henry III. tion'd by the Edict, as the other fourteen Cities
 1579. aforemention'd.

Pope Gre-
 gory XIII.

XXI. And to avoid all manner of burthening and oppressing of the Inhabitants of the said Cities, and adjacent Parts, the said Lady has and does promise to the said King of *Navarre*, and to the said of the pretended *Reform'd* Religion to furnish thirty-six thousand *Livres Tournois*, which shall be deliver'd into the hands of those the said King of *Navarre* shall nominate at the beginning of every one of the said Months, *pro rata*, and by equal Portions, according to the Division they shall make of it.

XXII. And therefore it has been expressly resolv'd, That the said of the pretended *Reform'd* Religion, those who shall command in the said Cities, and those who shall be committed for the Guard thereof, shall not be allow'd to quarter in the Houses of Catholicks, as few as possible; neither shall they raise, or exact any thing from the Inhabitants thereof, or others, nor from the adjacent Places, under any pretence soever, without the King's Leave. The Consuls of the said Cities shall be oblig'd during the said term of six Months to find Candles for the Guard and Wood for them, which cannot amount but to very little, considering the Summer-season: Allowing them however at the first Sessions to impose and raise upon the Diocesens and Seneschallships the Sums to which the said Candles and Wood shall amount, without consequence. And as for the Garrisons lying at present in the Cities of the said Country of *Languedoc*, held by those of the said Religion, they are allow'd to raise, if it has not been done already, what is barely necessary for their Maintenance until the last Day of March next, and no more. In order to which they shall give the Commissaries who are
 now

now going to put an end to all Acts of Hostility, the true Estimate of what the Payment of the said Garisons will amount to. And the said Estimate shall be drawn without Fraud upon the old Rolls: In which shall not be included in the upper Country of *Languedoc, Dornbe, S. Germa, Pechaudie, Pierreficte, Carlus, Frigerolles, Myeules, and Postrims*, which shall be speedily dismantled and quitted. And to that end, those who detain them, shall forthwith deliver them into the hands of those who are sent to cause the Acts of Hostility to cease, if they design to enjoy the Benefit of the General Pardon, granted to those who have been Infractioners of the Edict of Pacification, since the Publication thereof. And in case they do not obey what is above said, they shall be deriv'd of the Benefit of the said Pardon, and punish'd as Disturbers of the common Peace, without hope of any Favour. And a Nomination shall also be made to the Executors of the Edict, both in *Guienne* and in *Lower Languedoc*, of the Cities, Towns, and Castles, it will be fit to dismantle, according to the Advice of the Inhabitants of the Country of both Religions; and what the King shall afterwards be pleas'd to order upon the said Advice, without including the Places belonging to private Lords. And as for the *Upper Languedoc*, according as above said, the said Executors shall consult, whether there are any Places of those that are possess'd by the Catholicks requisite and fit to be dismantled, according, as above said, to the Advice of those of the Country of both Religions, and also according to what the King shall be pleas'd to order about it.

XXIII. And for a good, firm, true, and sincere Assurance of what is above-mention'd, the said King of *Navarre*, together with the Prince
of

Henry III.
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Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Henry III. of *Condé*, and twenty of the principal Gentlemen
 1579. of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, such as
 Pope Gre- the Queen-Mother shall be pleas'd to nominate,
 gory XIII. together with the Deputies that are here, in the
 Name of the Provinces that have sent them ;
 besides those who are to command in the said
 Cities, that are left in their hands for the said
 six Months, shall promise and swear upon their
 Faith and Honour, and engage their Estates to
 cause all the Garisons to march out of the said
 fourteen Cities and Citadels thereof, and to de-
 liver the said Cities and Citadels, without Delay,
 Excuse, Evasion, or any other Pretence what-
 ever, on the abovesaid first Days of September
 and October next coming, into the hands of the
 abovesaid Commissary, to leave them in the Con-
 dition specify'd by the said Edict of Pacification,
 as is aforesaid.

XXIV. It has been resolv'd, That in case any
 Attempt should be made on either side, to the
 prejudice of the last Edict of Pacification, and
 of all that is above said, the Complaint and Pro-
 secution thereof shall be made before the King's
 Governors and Lieutenants-General, and by way
 of Justice in the Courts of Parliament, or Cham-
 bers establish'd, in regard of both, according to
 the Edict. And what shall be ordain'd by them,
 shall forthwith be put in execution, at farthest
 within a Month after it, by the Diligence of the
 King's Council, in relation to the Judgments
 that shall intervene, without using any Conni-
 vance or Disimulation. And the said Governors
 and Lieutenants General are expressly order'd, to-
 gether with the Bailiffs and Seneschals, to fur-
 ther, give aid and comfort, and to employ all the
 King's Forces for the Execution of what shall
 have been advis'd and order'd for the Repara-
 tion of the said Attempt. Thus the Attempts
 on

on either side shall neither be taken, or reputed as Infractions of the said Edict in respect to the King, and the King of *Navarre*, the General of the Catholics, and the General of those of the said Religion: It being his Majesty's true and firm Intention, at the request of the said King of *Navarre*, to have them immediately redress'd, and the Guilty severely and exemplarily punished.

XXV. And to that end, the Gentlemen and Inhabitants of the Towns, of both Religions, shall be obliged to accompany the Governors, and the King's Lieutenants-General, to aid them with their Persons and Means, if necessary and requir'd so to do, in order forthwith to repair the said Attempts. The said Governors and Lieutenants-General, together with the Bailiffs and Seneschals, shall be oblig'd to apply themselves about it, without Delay or Excuse, and to use their utmost Endeavours and Diligence for the Reparation of the said Attempts, and to punish the Guilty, according to the Pains specify'd in the Edict. Moreover, it has been resolv'd, That such as shall make any Attempts upon Cities, Places or Castles, or that shall abet, assist, or favour them, or give them Counsel, or that shall commit any Attempt against and to the prejudice of the Edict, and all that is above said: Also such as shall refuse to obey, or shall oppose themselves, or by others, directly or indirectly, the Effect and Execution of the said Edict of Pacification, and of all that is above said, are from this Moment declar'd guilty of High-Treason, both they and their Posterity infamous, and for ever incapable of enjoying any Honours, Employments, Dignities, and Successions; and liable to all the Punishments inflicted by the Law against those that are guilty of High-

Henry III. High-Treason in the highest degree: His Majesty declaring moreover, That he will grant no Pardon for it; forbidding his Secretaries to sign them, and his Chancellor or Lord-keeper to pass them: And the Courts of Parliament to respect them for the future, whatever express or reiterated Commands they might receive about it.

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Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

XXVI. It has also been resolv'd, That the Lords deputed for the Execution of the said Edict of Pacification, together with the Secret Articles made at the time of the said last Edict of Pacification, and of all that is above said, proceeding to the said Execution, shall restore the Houses and Castles of the said King of *Navarre*, as they pass along the Seneschalships, where the said Castles and Houses of the said King of *Navarre* are situated; which shall be left without Garisons on either part, and put into the Condition mention'd by the Edict of Pacification, and according to their ancient Privileges.

XXVII. That all that is above specify'd, and what is contain'd in the last Edict of Pacification, shall be inviolably kept and observed on both sides, under the Penalties set down in the said Edict. That the Courts of Parliament, and Chambers ordain'd for Justice, according to this said Edict; the Chambers of Accounts, Courts of Aids, Bailiffs, Seneschals, Provosts and all other Officers, whom it may concern, shall cause to be register'd the Letters-Patent, that shall be issued out for all that is above said and the Contents thereof to follow, keep, and observe in every particular, according to their Form and Tenor. And the Governors and Lieutenants-General of all the Provinces of this Kingdom

dom shall be enjoin'd, in the mean time, forth-
 with to publish, every one within his District,
 the said Letters-Patent, to the end that no body
 may pretend to plead Ignorance; and the Con-
 tents of the same also inviolably to keep and
 observe, under the Penalties specify'd by the
 said last Edict of Pacification, and others here
 above declar'd.

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 1579.
 Pope Gre-
 gory XIII.

Done at Nerac, on the last Day of February,
 1579.

Thus sign'd,

KATHERINE, HENRY.

*Bouchart, Deputy of the Prince of Condé, Biron,
 Joyeuse, Jansac, Pybrac, De la Mothe Fene-
 lon, Clermont, Duranti, Turenne, Guitry, Du
 Faur, Chancellor to the King of Navarre;
 Scorbiac, deputed by the Generality of Bour-
 deaux; Yolet, and de Vaux, Deputies for Rou-
 ergue.*

*The King having seen and maturely consider'd
 word by word the entire Contents of these pre-
 sent Articles, agreed on in the Conference which
 the Queen his Mother has held at Nerac with
 the King of Navarre, and the Deputies of those
 of the pretended Reform'd Religion, who were
 assembled there, to facilitate the Execution of
 the last Edict of Pacification: The said Articles
 agreed on, and sign'd on both sides at the said
 Place of Nerac, on the last Day of the Month
 of February, last past: His Majesty has ap-
 prov'd, confirm'd, and ratify'd the same; wills
 and requires that they shall be put in execution
 according to their Form and Tenor, and to that
 end that the Letters-Patent, and all necessary
 Dispatches*

Henry III. *Dispatches of the same shall be forthwith made*
 1579 *and sent.*
 Pope Gre-

gory XIII.

Done at *Paris* on the 14th Day of March,
 1579.

Sign'd

HENRY.

And lower,

DE NEUFVILLE.

Tho' the King ratify'd whatever had been agreed at *Nerac*, nevertheless these Articles were not read nor register'd in Parliament; but about two Years after, when the Duke of *Anjou*, in the King his Brother's Name, came to a new Agreement with the King of *Navarre*, at *Flex* in *Perigord*.

It is very observable, as to this Conference of *Nerac*, that the Queen-Mother setting out from *Paris* took care to be attended by a great Number of the finest young Ladies that could be found, in order to ensnare the Court of *Nerac*, and those who had any credit amongst the Reformed. But her Daughter *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre* outvyed her, and by the Charms of the Ladies of her own Retinue, and of her Maids of Honour, she enslaved most of the Queen-Mother's Ministers, that were come to treat with the Deputies of the Reformed; nay, her own Charms, which she knew very well how to display, were so powerful over *Pibrac*, one of the Queen-Mother's chief Confidants and Ministers, that by the Force of his Eloquence, he engag'd the said Queen-Mother to grant the Reformed a great deal more than she intended (*f*).

From

From *Nerac* the Queen-Mother proceeded to *Henry III.*
Agen, where an old Quarrel between the Vis-^{1579.}
count of *Turenne*, and the two Brothers *Duras* ^{Pope Gre-}
and *Durfort* Lord of *Rosan*, was renewed, and ^{gory XIII.}
at last decided. The occasion was this; *Savillan* ^{CXXI.}
having been removed three Years before from ^{The Queen-}
the Government of *Casteljaloux*, in the Dutchy ^{Mother's}
of *Albret*, belonging to the King of *Navarre*; ^{Progress in}
Durfort had been put in his stead, and being ^{the Sou-}
afraid lest *Savillan* should be restored to his ^{thern Pro-}
Place during his Absence, he had given orders
to his Lieutenant not to open the Gates to any
body, who should come attended with any
Forces.—Now *Turenne* having received Orders
of the King of *Navarre*, to whom he was De-
puty, commanded the said Lieutenant to o-
pen the Gates, which he refused to do, alledg-
ing the Governor's positive Orders; which Af-
front *Turenne* resented highly, and meeting
Durfort some time after, he asked Satisfaction:
however the Affair was prolonged to this Year,
when the *Durasses* came to *Agen* to pay their
respects to the Queen, and *Duras* sent a Chal-
lenge to *Turenne*, who came upon the Sands of
Garonne, with *Salignac*, on the 17th of March;
and a little after the *Durasses* arrived, *Turenne*
fought with *Durfort*, and *Duras* with *Salignac*:
The Issue of this Fight was, that *Turenne* hav-
ing received many Wounds in the back and in
the sides, was left for dead upon the spot; but he
pretended that he had not been fairly dealt with,
and that *Durfort* had a Coat of Mail under his
Clothes, and that he had been surrounded by ma-
ny, and published a *Faëtum* upon that Subject.
The Duke of *Damville* being consulted as he
was at *Agde* at that time, he assembled the Nobility
and Officers that were in the City, who judged
unanimously, that *Turenne* having been treated

Henry III. so unworthily by the *Durasses*, he had a right
 1579. to prosecute them by any other ways than those
Pope Gre- usual amongst Gentlemen of Honour, as Assassins
gory XII. and perfidious Men. The Queen was much
 exasperated against them, and had it not been
 for *Turenne's* Intreaties in their Behalf, she
 would have had them tryed by Law, tho'
 they had ran away (g).

CXXII. From *Agen* the Queen came to *Thoulouse*,
Bishop where *Montluc* the renowned Bishop of *Valence*,
Montluc's being come to inform her Majesty of the State
Death. of *Languedoc*, and of what he had done in con-
 sequence of the Commission he had received the
 Year before to put the Edict in execution in
 that Province, he fell sick and died a few days
 after.

He was a Prelate of vast Learning, Eloquence,
 and of a great Capacity in the Management of
 publick Affairs; illustrious by sixteen or seven-
 teen Embassies in most of the Courts of Europe,
 especially in *Poland*, where he succeeded above
 all expectation in the Negotiation he was charg-
 ed with, to procure the Crown of that Kingdom
 for *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*. He was a Pattern of
 Moderation, and countenanced so openly the
 Reformed Doctrine, that he preached at Court
 after their way at the beginning of *Charles*
IXth's Reign. He was one of the nine Prelates
 summoned to *Rome*, on account of their Senti-
 ments concerning Religion. Happy would it
 have been for him to die some Years sooner, he
 would then have died in the Lustre of his Glory,
 or at least, had he known how to renounce the
 World when the World began to frown upon
 him, which was above five Years before; for
 King *Henry*, who valued the Pleasures of the
 Court of *France* above all the Crowns of the
 World,

World, that of *France* excepted, looked no better upon his Election to that of *Poland* than as a kind of Exile, and henceforward he bore always a grudge to *Montluc* who had procured it for him, and estranged himself from him. *Montluc* himself, who knew perfectly well the Court and the King's Dispositions towards him, did very imprudently, inasmuch as he did not listen to the Voice of God; who forewarned him to found the Retreat before he was come to a decrepid old Age, being at Court amongst a Band of Women, and despised by every one (*b*); but there have been, always, very few *Barzillais*. He left a natural Son, *Balagny* by Name, Prince of *Cambray*; and was 75, or according to others 77 Years old. His Brother *Blaise of Montluc*, Marshal of *France*, had been dead above two Years before.

Henry III.
1579.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

The Queen having settled the Affairs at *Thoulouse*, and recommended to the Parliament not to be so severe as they had been formerly, and to execute the Edict more impartially than they had done heretofore, set out and took her way through *Carcassonne*; where having likewise settled by her Presence the Commotions which arose every Day in *Lower Languedoc*, she went into *Dauphiné*, where there were much greater Heats than any where else. The Marshal *Damville* attended her Majesty as far as *Grenoble*, and the Duke of *Savoy* waited upon her in that City, in order to prepossess her Mind in behalf of Marshal *de Bellegarde*, during his Absence, whose ambitious Designs he countenanced in secret, and to palliate the best he could the bold Attempt which the said Marshal had made upon the Marquisate of *Saluces*; having expelled out of it *Charles Biragues*, Brother to the Cardinal.

CXXIII.
Continuation of the
Queen-Mother's
Journey.

Henry III. For the better understanding of this, we must
 1579. observe, that for the Reasons above-mentioned,
 Pope Gre- and for others which we shall mention presently,
 gory XIII. *Bellegarde* burning with an immoderate Desire of
 CXXIV. being revenged for the Affronts put upon him, did
 Belle - not meet the Deputies at *le Buys*, where they had
 garde's At- appointed a Conference; but *Des Gordes* being
 tempts. dead, he went to *Villeneuve d'Avignon*, where
 his restless Spirit plotted to seize upon *Avignon*
 itself, which Plot was very near to succeed with
 the Help of some desperate Men which he had
 secured to his Interest: he aimed chiefly at get-
 ting into the Confidence of the Reformed, whose
 Assistance he wanted to execute things of a much
 higher nature; for the consequence of such a
 bold Attempt would be, that having done so
 great an Injury to the Pope, he would fall of
 course into the King's highest Displeasure, and
 would be necessitated by that means to offer his
 Services and Interest to the Reformed, conse-
 quently to the King of *Navarre*, who not mis-
 trusting him would readily accept of his Offers,
 and join their Forces together, whereby he
 would be enabled to support his Designs, and
 to bring them to an happy Issue; but the Plot
 was seasonably discovered, and some of the Com-
 plices that could be apprehended, put to death.
 However *Bellegarde* reaped this Advantage, that
 going from *Villeneuve* to *Piedmont*, he contracted
 a stricter Union with *Les Diguieres*; which was
 very useful to him in the Juncture we are going
 to relate.

A most honourable Condition had been pro-
 posed to *Damville* by the Court, to disunite
 him from his Association with the Reformed;
 and at the same time to divest him of his Go-
 vernment of *Languedoc*, viz, to give him the
 Marquisate of *Saluces*, as a Tenure from the
 Crown

Crown only; and that he should resign his Government, which should be divided between *William de Joyeuse* and *Bellegarde*, the first having the *Upper Languedoc* for his Share, and the other the *Lower*, which is a great deal more considerable. That *Bellegarde* should resign the Marquisate of *Saluces*, with the Towns, Citadels and Castles thereof into *Damville's* hands. But this Lord, who was cunning enough to suspect what was aim'd at by this Interchange, disssembled his real Intention, and gave hopes to the King, by *Bellegarde's* means, that as soon as the War should be ended, he would accept of the Condition propos'd. Peace being made, several secret Conferences were held, and several Messages pass'd between the Queen and *Damville* and *Bellegarde*. Many Difficulties were started, *Damville* especially, who had a mind to cloak his Refuse with some fair Pretence, oppos'd *Bellegarde*, who was very earnest with him, upon the Promise he had made to comply with the King's Proposition, that by the Laws of the Kingdom, his Majesty was not allowed to alienate any part of the Crown's Demesne. Therefore he insisted upon the absolute Necessity of having first the Consent of the States General, and that the Deed of the said Interchange or Concession should be read, publish'd and register'd in the Parliaments of *Paris* and *Grenoble*. But the Queen, who had quite another Meaning than what she spoke forth, said, that by such a Method nothing could be done, and that it was better to begin with the Execution, and then it would be an easy matter to obtain the Consent of the States and the Parliaments; that the Execution itself would be obnoxious to the publick Censure, if it was not done with the greatest Nicety; therefore she thought it very proper, that *Bellegarde*

Henry III.
1579.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Henry III. should resign the Places he was possessed of immediately, not into *Damville's* hands, but into the hands of one of the King's chusing, by way of Sequestration; and that *Damville* should do the same of his Government; and that both the said Marquisate and Government should remain so sequestered, till the Approbation of the States and Parliaments should be obtain'd. Whereby the cunning Princess intended to divest, all at once, *Damville* and *Bellegarde* of their own Governments, that the King might be Master, afterwards to bestow them upon whomsoever he pleased. *Joyeuse* had already made himself sure of the whole Government of *Languedoc* for *William* his Father, *Damville's* Deputy-Governor; and *Espernon* of the Marquisate of *Saluces*, for *Bernard de Nogaret* his Brother.

Now *Bellegarde*, blinded by his Ambition, did not perceive the Cheat, whereof *Damville* was very sensible; therefore burning with Ambition, and with an eager desire of seeing the Accomplishment of that Transaction, he put readily the Town, Castle, and the whole Marquisate of *Saluces* into the hands of *Charles Biragues*, whom the King had named for that purpose. *Damville* refusing to do the same, till the States General and the Parliaments had given their Consent, as above-said, *Bellegarde* saw plainly then, but too late, that he had been cheated; whereat being exasperated, he contracted a stricter Union with *Les Diguieres*; and having crossed the *Alps*, he fortified *Carmanioles*, and several other Places, unknown to the King; and being sensible that now, being gone so far, it was not safe for him to desist, at the Instigation of the Duke of *Savoy*, feigning to take the Defence of the Reformed, he treated secretly with the Enemies of the State (*Spain*;) and, in order to

conceal

conceal the better his Designs, he levied Forces in the Valleys of *Pragelas*, *Angrogne*, and *Chierasco* alias *Queras*, the Inhabitants whereof, for the most part, professed the Reformed Religion; he received likewise 1200 Foot and 300 Horse of *Les Diguieres*, commanded by *De la Tour de Gouvernet*, and enlisted part of the Troops that had served under him at the Siege of *Nimes*, so that he had an Army of 6000 Foot and 500 Horse, with twelve Cannons, with which he marched directly to *Saluces*, and frighten'd *Biragues* so much, that he retired into the Castle, leaving the Town at *Bellegarde's* Discretion, who improving his Advantages, forced the said Castle to surrender, and *Biragues* to return into *France*; and soon after, all the other Places of the Marquisate surrender'd themselves to *Bellegarde*; who after this Success wrote to the King to excuse, under several Pretences, what he had done.

Now the Queen being arrived in *Dauphiné*, this Marshal durst not wait upon her Majesty at *Grenoble*; but, by the Duke of *Savoy's* means, he obtain'd to have an Interview with her at *Monluel*, in the Country of *Bresse*, belonging then to the said Duke; wherein he brought along with him the Deputies of the Reformed of *Dauphiné*, that he might conceal the better his Union with *Spain* and *Savoy*, under his outward Zeal for the Protestant Interest. The Queen saw herself obliged to feign being satisfied with the Reasons, good or bad, he gave for colouring what he had done, to approve his Conduct, and confirm his Authority; then he treated about the Execution of the late Edict. The Deputies of the Reformed made several heavy Complaints of the manifold Infractions of the said Edict, and *Bellegarde* supported them with all his Might.

Henry III.
1579.
Pope Gregory XIII.

Henry III. However, after many hot Debates and Altercations, Things were left in the same State till the King should be thoroughly informed; and the Queen understanding that the Favourites Credit with the King her Son increased every day during her long Absence, made all haste she could to return to Court (g).

1579.
Pope Gregory XIII.

CXXV.
The Duke of Montmorancy's Death.

About the same time she received the News of Francis Duke of *Montmorancy's* Death, a Lord who deserved the better the King's Favours, had he lived in better Times, and under a better Government; either if one considers his extraordinary Love to God, and to his own Country, or the Greatness of his Soul, his Liberality, Fortitude, exquisite Judgment, Constancy, strict Adherence to whatever was right and just, and, what was extraordinary in his Time for a Lord of his Quality, his Learning. The ancient Jealousies between his House and *Guise's* having been renew'd in the Civil Wars, he opposed, with all his Might, at the Beginning, the ambitious and pernicious Designs of that House, and supported the Prince of *Condé*, and his Cousins the *Colignie's* Interest, whereby he became suspected of countenancing the Reformed Religion; a strenuous Assertor of the King's Authority, he forced the Cardinal of *Lorraine* and the Duke of *Guise* his Nephew, who, in defiance of the King's Decree, had attempted to come into *Paris* attended with a numerous Retinue of their Friends and Vassals in Arms, he forced them, I say, to submit to go out of the City. But tho' the *Guises* since that time had born a Grudge against him, and miss'd no Opportunity of being revenged upon him, nay, tho' they had sought to undo him and his Family utterly,

at

(g) Id. *ibid.* Vidal Vie du Connetable de Les Diguieres, liv. 2. ch. 1.

at several times, especially on *Bartholomew's* ^{Henry III.}
Day, nevertheless he was so well reconciled with ^{1579.}
that House, after he was released from Prison, ^{Pope Gre-}
that the Duke of *Guise* attended him constantly, ^{gory XIII.}
even for whole Nights together, during his
Sickness, several Months before his Death. He
died at his Castle of *Escovan*, on the 6th of
May, of a lingering Illness which had returned
upon him, and which he had contracted in the
Bastile. He was in the Fiftieth Year of his
Age. His Death was much lamented, even by
his Enemies; he was judged worthy of that
Praise, of being the last true *Frenchman*. He was
succeeded in his Government by the unworthy
Villequier (b).

Bellegarde, after the Queen's setting out, took CXXVI.
his way through *Dauphiné*, in order to confer ^{Belle-}
with *Les Diguieres*, and to ratify his Engage- ^{garde's}
ments with the Reformed of that Province; he ^{Conference}
shewed forth that every thing tended to a Rup- ^{with Les}
ture; and offering his Assistance, he prevailed ^{Diguieres,}
for sending a Deputation to the King of *Na-* ^{and Death.}
varre, to require that if he accepted of his Of-
fers, he would be pleased to send him a full
Power for acting in his Name, whenever the
Occasion should require it. *Montberault* was
Bellegarde's Deputy for that purpose, and *Ca-*
lignon was sent in the Reformed's Name. *Mont-*
berault was very kindly received by the said
King, and dismissed with such full Powers as
Bellegarde desired to have them; as to *Calignon*,
he remained at the said Prince's Court.

Bellegarde was arrived at *Carmaniole* since the
latter end of September, where he kept a Retinue
almost Royal. Several Messengers came and
went every day from and to *Milan*, and other
suspected Places; the wisest amongst the Re-
formed

Henry III. formed questioning not, but that there was some
 1579. *Snake in the Grass.* Les Diguieres himself had
 Pope Gre- warned the King of Navarre, that he saw such
 gory XIII. things every day which rendered that Marshal's
 Fidelity much suspected. But an inopinate
 Death puts an end to his vast Designs, as well as
 to his Life, and delivered the Kingdom of an
 irreconcilable and dangerous Enemy (j).

CXXVII. Mean while the King of Navarre having ap-
 Conference pointed a Conference at Mazerès, there came
 at Ma- accordingly, on the 9th of November, the Mar-
 zeres. shall Damville, (whom we shall stile hereafter
 Duke of Montmorancy, his Brother being dead
 without Male Issue) D'Angennes Rambouillet,
 and Abbot Gadagne, (whom the Queen had ad-
 joined to the said Marshal) the Count of Car-
 main, Cornusson, with some others, for examin-
 ing, together with his Navarrese Majesty, the
 Complaints of the States of Languedoc, lately
 held at Carcassone. For a little before the Re-
 formed had seized upon several Places about
 Pezenac, and made frequent Incursions in the
 Neighbourhood; therefore the said Duke re-
 quired before all, that with the King of Na-
 varre's Leave, they might prosecute the said In-
 vaders as Disturbers of the publick Peace, with-
 out being deem'd as Infringers of the late Edict.
 The second Head of the Request was, that the
 cautionary Towns put into the Reformed's
 hands, should be restored to the King at the
 time prescribed by the Edict. After several
 Debates and Altercations, the first Point was
 granted with great difficulty, but the second
 was flatly denied. And it is remarkable, that
 the Queen Mother, either of her own self, or
 by her Ministers, had advised the King of
 Navarre not to give up so soon the cautionary
 Towns

Towns (i). So the Matter was referred to the ^{Henry III.} King, to whom the King of *Navarre* had sent ^{1579.} his Deputies, for treating about the said Restitu- ^{Pope Gregory XIII.} tion.

That Prince stay'd some time longer at *Mazeres*, to hear the Complaints of the Deputies of the Reformed Churches, against the Non-Performance of the Edict, in the Name of their Principals, and to take proper Measures according to the Circumstances. The Opinions were various, some were for renewing the War, and others not, without an absolute Necessity; at last it was agreed, that since nothing had been done at the late Conference of *Monluel*, since the Articles of the Conference at *Nerac* were eluded by the Parliaments and the Governors of Provinces, they ought to make the necessary Preparations for War, and be ready at all Events; that however they would delay to declare openly, till they had tried all friendly Ways for making up the Differences by their Deputies to the King; and if they were disappointed of their just Expectation, then the King of *Navarre* should appoint the Time and the Day for beginning the War.

Then that Prince called in secret *Anthony du Pleix* Lord of *Lecques*, Deputy of *Languedoc*, and *Calignon* Deputy of *Dauphiné*, and gave to each of them a Ducat cut asunder, whereof he kept the two Halfs, for delivering them one to *Francis de Coligny*, Son to the late Admiral, and the other to *Les Diguieres*, with Orders to tell them, that whoever should bring them the other Part of the Ducat, it would be a Token for beginning the War, and they ought to believe and follow the Instructions which such a Man should bring them from him; whereby it would happen that

(i) Id. ibid. Vie du Duc d'Esperron, tom. 1.

Henry III. that rising in Arms all upon the same Day, they would cast a greater Terror in their Enemies. ^{1579.} That done, the Conferences were ended, and the Deputies went home, not without hopes of coming to some reasonable Agreement with the Court, but fully resolved to prepare themselves for War; which indeed was renewed in March next following (k).

CXXVIII On the 2d of August was held at *Figeac* in *Quercy*, the Tenth National Synod of the Reformed Churches in *France*; Mr. *De la Faye*, Minister of *Paris*, being Moderator; Mr. *Coliet*, Minister of *Villarmont* in *Burgundy*, was Assessor*; and Mr. *Francis de la Nouaille*, Elder of the Church of *Gensac*, Secretary. Nothing very material was transacted in this Synod, unless the Marriage of Eunuchs and of the Aunt of a deceased Wife were forbidden. The Names of God, Angels, or Offices, and such as appeared to them ridiculous, were forbidden to be bestowed upon Children at their Christening. Some Provisions were made for the Maintenance of poor Students of hopeful Parts. The National and Provincial Synods were to be held once a Year, and Colloquies twice. Publick Penances were to be used very seldom, and only for publick notorious Crimes. No particular Church or Province was allowed to make any Ordinance or Regulation, the Substance whereof should not be conformable to the General Articles of the Church Discipline. Dancing was forbidden. It was expressly order'd to be uncover'd, and bowing on the Knees, during the Publick and Family Prayers, Cases of absolute Necessity excepted. Ungrateful Churches towards their Pastors were

to

(k) Thuan. *ibid.*

* N. B. The First Book against Socinus was written by this Mr. Coliet.

to be deprived of their Ministry. The Marriage of a Catholick with a Reformed could not be celebrated in any of the Reformed Churches, unless after the Recantation of the Catholick Party. The Sessions ended on the 8th of the same Month.

Henry III.
1579.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

About the same time the Duke of *Anjou* made another Escape from Court. Since his Reconciliation with the King his Brother, they had lived together, it seemed, in a friendly way, but now, upon what account I can't find out, and against the Opinion of his most trusty Servants, on a sudden he took Post early in the Morning, after having sup't with his Brother, and lay that Night in the *Louvre*; and tho' it was known that at this time there was not a perfect Harmony between them, nevertheless his Design was so little suspected, that many large Sums were lost upon that account, many People disbelieving the Report thereof. The King, indulging his own Idleness, was not very sorry to find his Brother gone, being resolved to deny him nothing, provided he did not occasion any Trouble in the Kingdom. The Duke, on his side, required nothing else of his Brother, than that he would use his best Endeavours for promoting his Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*, and being set out with a small Retinue, he embarked for *England*, where he was exceedingly well received by the Queen. But more of this, and of what concerns that Prince, when I shall give his Character in its proper place. It was while he was in *England* that *Bussy d'Amboise*, his Favourite, was killed by the Count of *Monfureau*, for a criminal Conversation which the said *Bussy* bragg'd to have had with the Countess his Wife.

CXXIX.
The Duke of Anjou's Escape from Court.

Henry III.

1579.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.CXXX.
*Assembly
of the
Clergy at
Melun.*

An Assembly of the Clergy was held at *Melun*, with the King's Licence, on the Beginning of September, for the Reformation of their own Body. *Arnold de Pontac*, Bishop of *Bazas*, was named by them for making Remonstrances to the King upon that Subject. He proposed to his Majesty two Remedies for curing the Diseases of the Church, the one to receive the Council of *Trent*; he shewed forth that very great Abuses were committed in the Choice of Bishops, whereof the King himself was guilty; that there was then twenty-eight Sees destitute of Bishops, whose Revenues were enjoyed by Lay-men, and that the Performance of Divine Service was entirely neglected in them; that there were several in *Languedoc* and *Guienne*, wherein the Bishops did not reside; that a vast number of Abbeys were likewise in the hands of Lay-men, and were miserably plunder'd by them, to the great Scandal of the World; that it was not without Horror that he was forced to say, that even in the King's Council a Bishoprick had been bestowed upon one of the Court-Ladies, and several other Things of like nature. To this the King, who was very sorry to have granted the Clergy the Licence of assembling themselves, answered, that as to the Reception of the Council of *Trent*, he would consider of it maturely. But as to the Election of Bishops, he would take care for the future to have none elected, but what should be recommendable for their Life and Learning; and to have every thing contrary to good Morals seasonably amended.

His Majesty thought to have put a stop to the Clergy's Proceedings by that kind Answer; but they went farther, and on the 3d of October the Bishop of *St. Brioux* in *Britany* had his Audience. He insisted upon the Promulgation of the

the Council of *Trent*, as a proper means of extirpating the Heresies, and of restoring the Ecclesiastical Discipline, that the King should renounce the Concordate made between *Francis I.* and Pope *Leo X.* that he should restore to the Chapters the Liberty of electing their own Bishops; he expatiated upon that Subject, adding Threatnings to Prayers, and saying, that, according to King *Clovis's* Prediction, the Kingdom should endure but as long as the true and Catholick Religion should flourish in it, and that the said Religion could not subsist, but by the abolishing of the Concordates, and the publishing of the Council of *Trent*. At this his Majesty being provok'd, told the Bishop of *St. Brieux*, and some others that were with him, *Had the Right of Election been in the hands of the Chapters, would you have been elected Bishops?* Therefore since they enjoy'd their Dignities by his own Favour, they ought to take care to use it moderately, &c. (1)

The Court having received Notice, that the Duke of *Savoy* had already parted the imaginary Conquest of *Switzerland*, between himself and the King of *Spain*, and that he was to begin by *Geneva*, which was in Alliance with some of the *Cantons*, because it is through that Place that the *Switzers* send their Succours into *France*, and might receive some from it; the King was advised, at the earnest Instances of the *Cantons* of *Berne* and *Solutburn*, to receive that City under his Royal Protection, lest some other Prince should seize upon it; and by that means cut off the Communication between *France* and *Switzerland*. The Treaty for that effect was drawn at *Solutburn*, by *Hautefort* and *Nicholas de Harlay Sancy*, the King's Ambassadors, and ratified by

Henry III.
1579.
Pope Gregory XIII.

Henry III. by his Majesty, on the 16th of November. The
 1579. *Leaguers*, with their Adherents and Preachers,
 Pope Gre- failed not to censure the King's Conduct on this
 gory XIII. Occasion, but their Malice was obvious enough ;
 since, besides the strong Sollicitations of the first
 Catholick Canton, (*Solutburn*) his Majesty saw
 himself, in a manner, forced to comply with their
 Desire, unless he would renounce the useful
 Alliance he had with the *Switzers* (m).

1580. No Zeal for their Religion was now to be
 CXXXII. seen amongst the Reformed, Ministers, Elders,
 The Sixth Deacons, and the common Sort of People ex-
 Civil cepted ; as to the Nobility and Gentry, Religion
 War. was but a Name and a Pretence, and the Prince
 of *Condé* was almost the only one who was sin-
 cerely perswaded of the Truth thereof. For
 which Cause he had very little Acquaintance with
 the *Politicians*, nor even with the King of *Na-
 varre* himself, and had a Party by himself, ei-
 ther because he was angry with the said King,
 because he had given his Lieutenancy to the
 Viscount of *Turenne*, or rather because, being a
 thorough honest and upright Man, he eschewed
 the Libertinism and Debaucheries, and abhorred
 all Frauds and wicked Arts.

The sad Condition of the Court of *Navarre*. At the Court of the King of *Navarre* nothing
 was to be seen but Intrigues, Amours, At-
 tempts ; in a word, Queen *Margaret* was the
 Soul of it. The King her Brother, who hated
 her, wrote to the King her Husband, and let
 him know what was said in the World concern-
 ing that Princess his Consort, and her Conver-
 sation with the Viscount of *Turenne*, supposed to
 be criminal. But the King of *Navarre* having
 a greater Regard for the Circumstances of his
 Affairs, than for any thing else, shewed the
 Letter to them both, and spared neither Prayers
 or

or Careſſes for obliging the Viſcount to ſtay with him, for he feigned to have a mind to retire.

Henry III.
1580.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Now that Princeſſes being provoked to the laſt degree againſt her Brother, improved all Opportunities of being revenged ; for that end ſhe made uſe of the ſame Arts which her Mother had ſo many times ſucceſſfully employed, and informed the Ladies of her Attendance and her Maids of Honour, how they ought to behave themſelves in order to intrap all the Cavaliers of her Husband's Court, and even himſelf, who was forced to bear down before the charming FOSSEUSE, who made too great Improvement at her Miſtreſs's School. Theſe Sparks were the very Firebrands of the ſixth Civil War ; which, for that Reason, was called THE WAR OF THE SPARKS.

The Prince of Condé, it ſeems, had no hand at all in this Reſolution of renewing the War ; nevertheless he acted at the ſame time, as if he had concerted with the King of Navarre. He deſired earneſtly to re-enter into his Government of Picardy, which had been promiſed unto him by two ſeveral Treaties ; and the Court took care to keep him always in hopes of being reſtored to it. At laſt, his Patience being tired, he reſolved to right himſelf ; and by means of ſome Intelligences, he made attempts all at once upon ſeven or eight of the beſt Towns of that Province ; but he miſcarried in all, *La Fere* excepted, which he had ſeized in November laſt, by the means of *Liramont*, *Mouy*, and ſome other Gentlemen (n).

La Fere
ſurprized
by the
Prince of
Condé.

We have ſaid above that the King of Navarre had ſent two Moieties of two Pieces of Gold, one to *Chatillon*, who was in *Languedoc*,
V. III. PART II. U and

Henry III. and the other to *Les Diguieres* in *Dauphiné*, with
 1580. Orders to give credit to whomsoever should
Pope Gre- bring them the two other *Moieties*, and to rise
 gory XIII. in Arms all at once on the same day. Now
 that Prince sent these *Moieties* into *Languedoc*
 and *Dauphiné*, by *d'Aramont*, with Orders to
 be in readiness by April next; but those of
Languedoc, either because they found the time
 too short for making all the necessary Prepara-
 tions for a War, or because being at a distance
 they were less sensible of the Danger which
 threatned those of *Guienne*, they declined to o-
 bey that Order. As to *Les Diguieres*, he pre-
 pared every thing for rising at the appointed
 Day.

Then the King of *Navarre* held a Council of
 War, to consult by what Place it was most pro-
 per to begin the War; and whereas the *Ageneſe*
 and *Quercy* had been bestowed of late upon the
 Queen of *Navarre*, for her Dowry, contrary to
 the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, whereby the
 Princesses of the Blood have their Dowry paid
 in ready Money; and that she might possess
 them more honourably, the King her Brother,
 who would buy Peace at any rate, even to the
 detriment of the Royal Authority, had granted
 her by a private Charter all the Rights of the
 Crown upon these Provinces, insomuch that she
 had the Presentation to the vacant Bishopricks
 and Abbeys, and her own Chancellor, *Pibrac*
 President in the Parliament of *Paris*, was the
 first who enjoyed that Office.

The Inhabitants of *Cabors* amongst others,
 bore very impatiently that Innovation; and
 whereas they had been always implacable Ene-
 mies to the Reformed, whom they had most
 cruelly persecuted from the Beginning; nay,
 most part of the Inhabitants had dipt their own

Hands

Hands in their Blood, at the Massacre of 1572: Henry III. 1580. Pope Gregory XIII. therefore they shewed themselves most averse to the King of *Navarre*, dreading to receive the deserved Punishment for their former Cruelties and Barbarities, should they ever fall into the hands of that Prince and the Reformed, for which cause they had obstinately refused to admit him. *Vezins*, of whom we have made mention in the third Volume, and who saved *Resnier* after so extraordinary a way from the Massacre, commanded in the City; keeping always on foot 1500 Inhabitants, well armed and disciplined.

Now the King of *Navarre* thought proper to begin by this City, knowing very well that the good Success of that Undertaking could but confirm his Authority in *Guienne*. Therefore being intirely bent upon that Expedition, he attacked the Place the first Day of May, and blew up two of the Gates with a Petard (it was the first time that that Piece of Ordnance was made use of in *France*) in the Night-time; the whole City were terrified by such an unusual Noise, and ran with their Arms into the publick Place, most part of them half drefs'd, and *Vezins* stark-naked at their Head, who was killed at the first On-set; but for all that they were not disheartened, for they held out for four Days together, defending themselves from one Street to another, till at last being tired with Fatigue, and overpowered by the King of *Navarre*, the City was taken, most part of the Inhabitants put to the Sword, and their Houses given to be plundered by the Soldiery.

At the Beginning of this War the Reformed were successful enough in their Undertakings. *Montagut* in *Poitou*, and some other Castles in *Xaintonge*, were taken by them: *Mendes* an Episcopal See in *Gevaudan*, was surprized by Cap-

Henry III. 1580. Pope Gregory XIII. *tain Merle*, who got a great Booty in it; and *Chanac* was plundered by the same, with some other Places in the *Cevennes*, and in *Languedoc* and *Guienne*, which were restored to the King by the next Treaty.

*The King
raises
three Ar-
mies.*

But the taking of *Cabors* having thrown the Court into a Consternation, so much the greater that they expected nothing less than such a piece of News, because Queen *Margaret*, and even *Pibrac* himself, being deceived by that Princess, had positively assured his Majesty that the King of *Navarre* had no thought of renewing the War; for which that Magistrate, tho' truly innocent, was in great danger of his Life: That Event, I say, obliged the King to raise three Armies, the first under the Command of the Duke of *Mayenne*, against *Dauphiné*; the second under *Biron*, against *Guienne*; and the third under *Matignon*, for the Siege of *La Fere*; and now the Scale was turned, and the Reformed reduced to a very low Ebb every where. For the King took care to publish at this time an Edict, whereby he confirmed all the former granted in behalf of the Reformed; promising all manner of Security to all those, who, willing to enjoy the Benefit of them, should live peaceably in their own Countries and Houses, without taking any share in the present Troubles; and on the other hand, threatening all those who should rise in Arms, to have them pursued and severely punished as the Law should direct, as Disturbers of the publick Peace.

*Many Ci-
ties and
Provinces
approve the
War.*

By these means it happened that many Cities in *Languedoc* refused to join in this War with the King of *Navarre*; and *Chatillon*, who was Chief of the Party in that Province, could engage but three Towns, viz. *Lunel*, *Sommieres*, and *Aiguemortes*, to declare openly for the War.

If

If Nimes followed that Example, 'twas only because they were very imprudently provoked by the Catholicks, who made frequent Incurfions to the very Gates of that City; *Rochelle*, at *la Nouë's* Persuasion, refused to contribute any thing towards the Charges of that War, which they looked upon as unjust. And upon the same account it was, that the Provinces of *Normandy*, *Isle of France*, *Champaign*, and *Burgundy*, refused to contribute to it. But besides the general Reasons which these Provinces had, for not supporting the King of *Navarre* upon this occasion, there was another which hindered most part of the Reformed Nobility and Gentry in *Dauphiné*, from joining *Les Diguieres*, viz. their Jealousies against that Chief; every one of them thinking himself more worthy of that Employ, than *Les Diguieres*. Nay, they carried their Jealousies so far, that most of them joined with the Duke of *Mayenne*, when he entered that Province, to put a stop to that General's Progress. No wonder therefore, if the Royalists got the better every where; those who opposed them being so weak, and even disunited amongst themselves.

The Marshal of *Biron* stopped short all the Forces which the King of *Navarre* opposed to him, he routed three thousand of his Men at the Battle near *Montcrabel*, wherein the two Sons of the Marquis of *Trans*, a near Relation to the said King, and Catholicks, were killed, and pursued the rest to the very Gates of *Nerac*, where Queen *Margaret* being upon the Walls to see the Skirmish, 'tis said that *Biron* fired some Volleys against the said Walls; whereat that Princess was so much provok'd, that she never forgave him afterwards. The Count of *Lude* retook *Montagut* in *Poitou*, after a great Resistance.

Henry III.
1580.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Henry III. The Duke of *Mayenne*, with an Army of seven
 1580. thousand Foot, one thousand Horse, besides the
 Pope Gre- Forces of *Dauphiné*, and about eighteen Pieces
 gory XIII. of Ordnance, bore down whatever he met before
 him in *Dauphiné*. He took *la Mure*, a strong
 Place upon the Mountains by Capitulation, after
 forty Days Siege. Then he came to *Grenoble*,
 where he was waited upon by almost all the Re-
 formed Nobility and Gentry of that Country,
 which attended him every where while he was
 in that City, and in a little time he pacified that
 Province; so that what others before him could
 not execute by several Battles and great Blood-
 shed, this Prince performed by his Prudence
 and great Moderation. Which being done, he
 passed away the remaining Part of the Year in
 Feasts, Balls, and Tournaments; and made him-
 self so popular, that he commanded the Respect
 and Love of every one. *Les Diguieres* himself,
 having received the necessary Security for his
 Person, came to *Grenoble*, and was most graciously
 received by the Duke, who had so great a value
 for him that tho' he was several times strongly
 solicited, even by the Archbishop of *Embrun*, to
 improve that Opportunity to destroy an Enemy
 which was the main Support of the REBELLIOUS
 HERETICKS in that Province, so he styled
 them; he abhorred the Proposition, and declared,
 that he would pursue and severely punish whom-
 soever should be bold enough to attempt any
 thing against a Gentleman, who was come under
 his Safeguard. At last, having in vain warned
 his Allies not to suffer themselves to be imposed
 upon by Shadows and false Appearances, and
 having refused to treat separately with the Duke,
Les Diguieres set out for *la Serres*, where he re-
 ceived a Messenger from the King of *Navarre*,
 who

who notified unto him that a Treaty was on foot at *Fleix*. Henry III. 1580.

Biron, pursuing his Victories in *Guienne*, surprised *Mont de Marsan*, the chief Fortrefs of the King of *Navarre* in *Bearn*, and granted an honourable Composition to the Garifon, which was faithfully kept: He took likewise several other Towns, Castles, and Fortreffes, and would have carried his Victories much farther, had it not been for an unlucky Accident; for as he approached *l'Isle Jourdan*, a strong Fortrefs near *Thoulouse*, his Horse fell upon him, whereby he had one of his Legs (which was lame before) fractured in two Places, and was unable to do any service for some time; and tho' he had caused his Son *Charles*, a young Gentleman of fifteen Years of Age, to be elected to command in his stead, whereby the Differences which arose amongst the chief Officers of the Army were appeased, nevertheless he performed nothing notice-worthy at this time, either for his Father's Sickness, or because an epidemical Distemper raged amongst his Troops and swept away abundance of Men every day.

The same Summer another thing happen'd, very prejudicial to the King of *Navarre's* Affairs. *La Reole* was one of the cautionary Towns that had been granted to the Reformed, the King of *Navarre* had intrusted the Government thereof to one *d'Ussac*, a Nobleman of the *Perigord*, a Reformed, and a learned Man, in whom the King trusted mightily, having given several Proofs of his Fidelity, Capacity, and Courage. Now this Gentleman being at the Court of *Nerac*, while the Queen-Mother was there, he fell passionately in love with one of her Maids of Honour; but, whereas his Face was very much homely, the Viscount of *Tu-*

Henry III. *renne*, who was then a young Lord of twenty-
 1580. two or twenty-three Years, undertook with some
 Pope Gre- other young Gentlemen of his Age to ridicule
 gory XIII. him. But the worst was, that the King of *Navarre*, far from putting them to silence, joined with them; and being very witty, helped them in their Jestings and Banterings against that old Lover: Nothing is more feeling for a Man of Courage, than to see himself ridiculed by his own Master. *Ussac* could not bear to be the sport of the Court; the King of *Navarre* approving of it, he resolved to be revenged even at the Loss of his own Honour, and Religion. He went away into *Reole*, and delivered the Place into the hands of *Duras*, who, out of some Discontent had forsaken the King of *Navarre*, and was now in the King of *France's* Service.

Some Months before; the same Prince had lost the City of *Agen*, much upon a like account; for it happen'd at a Ball, that the young Lords of the Court put out the Candles, to be more freely saucy with the Ladies; whereat the Inhabitants were so much offended, that they delivered up their City to the Marshal of *Biron*.

Indeed, a Prince must necessarily govern and rate his Courtiers, and a Lord his Servants; because their Vices, generally speaking, are ascribed to their Masters, who are thought to countenance them either by their own Example, or otherwise. Besides that, they ought to refrain from railing, and jesting upon their Inferiors. Such a word might be uttered by some Inferior or Equal, which shall not affect the Person upon whom it is spoken; but which will prove a stab to him when it comes out from his Prince's Mouth, and leaves in his Heart a mortal Resentment. The *Grandeess* must not flatter themselves, that their Subjects or Inferiors are obliged to bear all their Frolicks;

Frolicks; for when Honour lies at the stake, Henry III. the more the Person that wounds is superior, the ^{1580.} larger and deeper is the Wound; just as the ^{Pope Gregory XIII.} Impression of a Body is stronger, when it is of a great Weight, and falls from a higher Place.

The Prince of Condé sojourned not long at *la Fere* after the taking of it, tho' the King out of policy seemed to approve of what he had done; and that the Queen-Mother should be gone to him, bringing along with her the King's Consent for living in that Place, enjoying the Title of Governor of *Picardy*, provided he should make no further attempt. Nevertheless, understanding that he was not safe in that Place, and that it would be invested very soon by the King's Army, he departed immediately about the latter end of March, in order to go and solicit the Assistance of the Reformed and Protestant Princes of *Europe*. He had a Conference with Queen *Elizabeth*, here in *England*; with the Prince of *Orange*, at *Antwerp*; with *Casimir*, and other Protestant Princes, in *Germany*. None but *Casimir* promised him any Assistance upon certain Terms stipulated between them: Full of these Hopes he returned into France, through *Switzerland* and *Geneva*, amidst many Dangers; for he was arrested and stripped of every thing by some *Banditti* upon the Territories of *Savoy*, who did not know him; but being arrived in *Dauphiné*, *Les Diguieres* furnished him with Money, and every thing else necessary, and proceeded into *Languedoc*.

All the Hopes of the Reformed relied now upon that new Army of Germans, which they expected. The King dreaded it above all things, he had written to the Prince on the 26th of May, and upbraided him with many things, some indeed were too well grounded: He in-
treated

Henry III. treated him to return speedily, in which case he
 1580. would give him real Proofs of his sincere Affecti-
 Pope Gre- on. Mean while he caused his Army to march to
 gory XIII. besiege la Fere, under the Command of Marshal
 de Matignon. The two Favourites *Joyeuse* and
d'Espernon, with a great Number of Lords,
 came to the Siege, with very great Equipages ;
 and all Sorts of Provisions arrived there every
 day in such plenty, that it was called, THE
 SIEGE OF VELVET. The Place was invested
 on the 7th of July, the Siege was very hot, it
 lasted for six Weeks together, and at last the
 Capitulation was signed on the 12th of Septem-
 ber, which was exactly observed. The Duke
 of *Aumale* and the Duke of *Guise* were arrived
 in the Camp, not so much for sharing the Ho-
 nour of taking that Place, as Marshal of *Matig-
 non* fancied to himself, as for watching over
Quinquempoix Count of *Vignory*, who being in the
 inmost Secret of *Guise* and the *League*, and hav-
 ing been desperately wounded, they were afraid,
 lest in his Agony he should reveal something to
 their Prejudice.

The Reformed being unfortunate every where,
 the Duke of Anjou, who had been the chief In-
 stigatator that had persuaded his Sister the Queen
 of *Navarre* to renew the War, was likewise the
 first who advised the King his Brother to grant
 Peace to his Reformed Subjects ; because he in-
 tended to transport the Forces of both Parties
 into the Low Countries, the Sovereignty where-
 of he had accepted ; whereto the King having
 consented, he went Post into *Guienne*, to ne-
 gotiate ; the Place of the Conferences was
 appointed at *Fleix*, a Castle in *Perigord*, belong-
 ing to the Marquis of *Trans*. There, through
 the Cares of that Prince, the Duke of Mont-
 pensier's,

penfier's, and the Marshal of Cossé, whom the Henry III. King had sent after his Brother. On the 26th ^{1580.} of November, they agreed upon the following ^{Pope Gre-} Articles, which were approved by his Majesty ^{gory XIII.} in the Month of December, at *Blois*; where he was come for the sake of the Air, because the Plague raged at Paris; then they were published and registered at *Paris* in the Parlia-ment, the 26th Day of January, 1581 (o).

Articles propounded, and set forth in the Assembly and Conference held at Fleix, near the City of Sainte-Foy, between the Duke of Anjou, the King's only Brother, by virtue of the Power given unto him by his Majesty, and the King of Navarre, assisted by the Deputies of those of the pretended Reform'd Religion, to be presented to his Majesty, to be by him, if such be his pleasure, granted and approv'd. And in so doing to put an end to the Troubles and Disorders happen'd in this Kingdom since the last Ediēt of Pacification, made in the Month of September, 1577, and the Conference held at Nerac, on the last Day of February, 1579. and to restore the King's Subjects in Peace and Union under his Obedience; and so to provide by a good and speedy Execution, that henceforward nothing may happen among them to the prejudice of the said Pacification.

I. **T**HAT the said last Ediēt of Pacifica-^{CXXXIII} tion, and secret and particular Articles ^{Ediēt of} granted with the same; together with the Ar-^{Fleix.} ticles of the aforesaid Conference held at *Nerac*, shall be really and in effect observ'd and put in execution,

(o) Thuan. lib. 72. Mezeray 3^e Part. Tom. 5. p. 243—251. Prefixe Histoire de Henry le grand, p. 54—62. Vidal. Hist. du Connetable de Les Diguieres, liv. 2. ch. 3, 4.

Henry III. execution; in all and every particular; which
 1580. shall hold and stand good, not only for the things
 Pope Gre- happen'd during the preceding Troubles, but
 gory XIII. also for such as shall or have happen'd from
 { the time of the said Conference, until now;
 and that all the King's Subjects of both Reli-
 gions, shall enjoy the Benefit of the Declarations,
 Grants, Discharges, and general Pardons con-
 tain'd in the said Articles, Edicts, and Conferen-
 ces, for what has been done and committed, ta-
 ken and rais'd on either side; during the present
 Troubles, and upon the account thereof, as they
 should have done for what had happen'd during
 the precedent Troubles; excepting what is ex-
 pressly derogated to by the present Articles.

II. The Articles of the said Edict concerning
 the Re-establishment of the Catholick Apostolick
 and *Roman* Religion; for the Celebration of di-
 vine Service, in such places where it has been
 discontinu'd, together with the Enjoyment and
 Gathering of the Tythes, Fruits and Ecclesiasti-
 cal Revenues, shall be entirely executed, fol-
 low'd and observ'd, and those who shall trans-
 gress the same, shall be rigorously punish'd.

III. In putting the first, second, and eleventh
 Articles of the Edict in execution, the King's
 Attorneys-General shall be enjoin'd, as well as
 their Substitutes in Bayliwicks, Seneschalships,
 and other Royal Jurisdctions, to inform against,
 and prosecute in the King's Name all such who
 shall move Seditions, &c. and in publick shall
 utter scandalous Expressions or any wise trans-
 gress the said Edicts, Articles and Conferences,
 in order to have them punish'd according to
 the Penalties inflicted by the same: The which
 being omitted, the said Attorneys and Substitutes
 shall be responsible for the said Infractions, in
 their own particular Names, and depriv'd of their
 Places;

Places, without ever being restor'd or re-esta-
 blish'd to the same. And the Bishops and other
 Ecclesiasticks shall be requir'd to keep and to
 oblige the Preachers instituted by them, to keep
 and observe the Contents of the said Articles;
 and his Majesty commands the same most ex-
 pressly to all others who speak in publick, on the
 Penalties contain'd in the Edict.

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 gory XIII.

IV. In consequence of the fourth, ninth, and
 thirteenth Articles of the said Edict, all those of
 the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, of what
 condition or quality soever, are allow'd to *be and*
safely to inhabit in all the Cities and Parts of this
Kingdom, without being disturb'd or prosecuted
 on account of the said Religion, under any pre-
 tence whatever; they behaving themselves ac-
 cording as it is order'd by the aforesaid Articles
 of the said Edict. They shall not be oblig'd to
 hang and adorn the Front of their Houses on the
 Festival Days, on which it is order'd; but only
 shall suffer them to be hung and adorn'd by the
 Authority of the Officers who belong to those
 Places. Neither shall they be oblig'd to con-
 tribute towards the Charges for the Reparations
 of Churches, or to admit Exhortations when
 sick, or at the point of Death, either by Con-
 demnation of Justice, or otherwise, from any but
 those of the said Religion.

V. The first Article of the Conference shall
 hold and remain in force, altho' the King's At-
 torney-General be a Party against the High-Jus-
 ticers, who were in actual possession of the said
 Justice, at the time of the Publication of the
 said Edict.

VI. In executing the eighth Article of the
 said Edict, those of the said Religion shall no-
 minate unto the King four or five Places in every
 Bailiwick or Seneschalship of the Quality men-
 tion'd.

Henry III. 1580. Pope Gregory XIII. tion'd by the Edict, to the end that being inform'd of the Convenience or Inconvenience thereof, his Majesty may chuse one of them there to establish the Exercise of their said Religion, or they not proving convenient, to provide another for them within a Month after the said Nomination, which shall be as convenient for them as can be, and according to the Tenor of the Edict.

VII. And as to the Burying-places of those of the said Religion, the Officers belonging to those Parts, shall be oblig'd within a Fortnight after their being required so to do, to provide them convenient Places for the said Interments, without delays, on the Penalty of five hundred Crowns in their proper and private Names.

VIII. Letters-Patent shall be pass'd, directed to the Courts of Parliament for the registering and observing of the secret and particular Articles made with the said Edict. And as for Marriages, and the Differences that shall arise upon the same, the Judges Ecclesiastical and Royal, together with the aforesaid Chambers, shall take cognizance of the same respectively, according to the said Articles.

IX. The Taxes and Impositions that shall be laid upon those of the said Religion, according as it is express'd in the third Article of the said Conference, shall be executed, all Oppositions or Appeals whatever notwithstanding.

X. Those of the said Religion shall be allow'd the Exercise thereof, in the Cities and Places in which it was perform'd on the 17th of September, 1577. according to the seventh Article of the said Edict.

XI. The King shall settle a Chamber of Justice in the County and Dutchy of *Guyenne*, consisting of two Presidents, fourteen Counsellors, a King's

King's Attorney and Advocate, Persons of worth, Lovers of Peace, of Integrity, and proper Abilities, which shall be chosen by his Majesty, and taken out of the Parliaments of this Kingdom and Great Council, the List of which shall be communicated to the King of *Navarre*, to the end that any of them being suspected Persons, it may be lawful to acquaint his Majesty therewith, who shall elect others in their room. The said Presidents and Counsellors thus ordain'd, shall take cognizance of, and judge all Causes, Processes, Differences and Transgressions of the Edict of Pacification, the Cognizance and Jurisdiction of which, has been by the said Edict reffer'd to the Chamber compos'd by the same. They shall serve two whole Years in the said Country, and shall remove their Place and Sessions through the Seneschalships of the same every six Months, in order to clear the Provinces, and to administer Justice to every one upon the Spot. Nevertheless it has been agreed, that by the Establishment of the said Chamber, those of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion shall not be depriv'd of the Privilege and Benefit which is granted them by the said Edict, by the Establishment of the Bipartite Chamber, ordain'd by the same: The Presidents and Counsellors of which being of the said Religion, shall remain united and incorporate in the Court of the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, according to their erection, there to serve, to hold a Rank, and sit from the very day they have been receiv'd there, and shall enjoy all the Honours, Authorities, Preeminences, Rights, Profits and Prerogatives, as the other Presidents and Counsellors of the said Court. And as for the Provinces of *Languedoc* and *Dauphiné*, the Chambers that have been appointed for them by the Edict, shall be establish'd
and

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Henry III. and constituted there according, as it is specify'd
 1580. in the same, and by the Articles of the said Con-
 Pope Gre- ference of *Nerac*. And the next sitting of that
 gory XIII. of *Languedoc* shall be in the City of—

And that of *Dauphiné* shall be establish'd, according to what has been heretofore ordain'd.

XII. The said Presidents, Counsellors and Officers of the said Chamber shall be oblig'd to repair forthwith to the Places appointed for their Sessions, there to exercise their Office, on pain of forfeiting their said Offices; and to serve actually, and reside in the said Chambers, without departing or absenting from thence without leave, registred in the said Chambers, which shall judge in the Assembly about the Causes of the Ordinance. And the said Catholick Presidents, Counsellors and Officers shall be continu'd there as long as can be, and as the King shall think it necessary for his Service, and for the Publick Good: And in licensing the one, others shall be put in their places before their departure.

XIII. All Sovereign and other Courts of this Kingdom are forbidden to take cognizance, and judge Processes, either civil or criminal, in which those of the said Religion are concern'd, until the Day on which the said Chambers shall sit, or afterwards, on pain of Nullity, Charges, Damages, and Interest of the Parties, unless they should appeal of their own accord to the said Courts, according to the twenty-sixth Article of the said Edict, and the sixth and seventh of the said Conference.

XIV. The King shall provide valuable Assignations towards the Charges of Justice of the said Chambers, and shall reimburse himself upon the Estates of the Condemn'd.

XV. The King shall, as soon as possible can be, make a Regulation between the said Courts of Parliament and the said Chambers, according

to the Edict, and the fifth Article of the said Henry III. Conference, and consult some Presidents and Counsellors of the said Parliaments and Chambers about it. Which said Regulation shall be kept and observ'd, without regard to those that have preceded it.

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XVI. Neither shall the said Courts of Parliament, or other sovereign and inferiour Courts, take cognizance of what shall be depending and introduc'd into the said Chambers, which they ought to determine according to the Edict, on pain of Nullity of the Proceedings.

XVII. In such Chambers where there shall be Judges of both Religions, the Proportion of Judges and Judgments shall be observ'd according to their Establishment, unless the Parties consent to the contrary.

XVIII. The Recusations or Challenges propos'd against the Presidents and Counsellors of the said Chambers of *Guienne*, and *Languedoc*, and *Dauphiné*, shall be allow'd to the Number of six, to which Number the Parties shall be restrain'd, otherwise they shall go forward without any regard to the said Challenges.

XIX. The Presidents and Counsellors of the said Chambers shall hold no private Councils out of their Assembly; in which also the Propositions, Deliberations and Resolutions relating to the Publick Good shall be made, as well as those relating to the particular State and Policy of the said Cities where the said Chambers shall be.

XX. All the Judges to whom the Execution of Decrees and other Commissions of the said Chambers shall be directed, together with all the Messengers and Serjeants, shall be oblig'd to put them in execution. And the said Messengers and Serjeants shall serve all Warrants through-

Henry III. out the Kingdom, without requiring *placet*,
 1580. *visa*, nor *pareatis*, on pain of being suspended,
 Pope Gre- and of paying the Losses, Damages and Interests
 gory XIII. of the Parties, the Cognizance whereof shall ap-
 pertain to the said Chambers.

XXI. No Evocation or Removal of Causes, the trial of which is refer'd to the said Chambers, shall be allow'd, unless in the Case of the Ordinances, the Return whereof shall be made to the nearest Chamber establish'd, according to the Edict. And upon the Revocation of the Removal, and the Annihilation of the Proceedings made upon the same, Justice shall be done by the King, at the request of the Parties; and the Issues of Suits of the said Chambers shall be try'd in the next Chamber, observing the proportion and form of the said Chambers, whence the Processes proceed.

XXII. The Subaltern Officers of the Provinces of *Guienne*, *Languedoc* and *Dauphiné*, the reception of which belongs to the Courts of Parliament, if they be of the said pretended *Reform'd* Religion, may be examin'd and receiv'd in the Chamber of the Edict, and none but the King's Attorneys-General, and those plac'd in the said Offices. shall be allow'd to oppose and make themselves Parties against their Reception: And upon the Refusal of the said Parliaments, the Officers shall take the said Oaths in the said Chambers.

XXIII. Such of the said Religion as have resign'd their Places and Offices out of fear of the Troubles, since the 24th of August, 1572. to whom by reason thereof, some Promises have been made: The said Promises being verified by them, Provision shall be made for them by Law, according to reason.

XXIV.

XXIV. The forty-sixth Article of the said Edict shall be entirely executed, and shall be of force for the Discharge of Arrears and Contributions, and all other Sums impos'd during the Troubles.

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XXV. All Deliberations made in the Courts of Parliament, Letters, Remonstrances, and other things contrary to the said Edict of Pacification and Conference, shall be rais'd out of the Registers.

XXVI. The Processes of Vagabonds shall be tried by Presidial Judges, Provost, Marshal, and Vice-Seneschals, according to the twenty-fifth Article of the said Edict, and the eighth of the said Conference. And as for the Housholders in the Provinces of *Guienne*, *Languedoc*, and *Dauphiné*, the Substitutes of the King's Attorneys-General in the said Chambers shall at the request of the said Housholders, cause the Indictments and Informations made against them, to be brought into the same, to know and determine whether the Cases are liable to Provost Courts, or not, that afterwards according to the nature of the Crimes, they may be return'd by the said Chambers, to be try'd by the ordinary Judges, or by the provostal Judges, as they shall find it proper. And the said Presidial Judges, Provosts Marshal, and Vice-Seneschals shall be oblig'd to respect, obey, and fulfil the Commands they shall receive from the said Chambers, as they use to do those of the said Parliaments, on pain of Forfeiture of their Places.

XXVII. The Ruins and Dismantlings of all Cities that have been demolish'd during the Troubles, may be by the King's Leave rebuilt and repair'd by the Inhabitants, at their own Charge and Expence, according to the fiftieth Article of the Edict.

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XXVIII. The like Discharges and Pardons

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gory XIII.

shall be granted in respect to the things done and happen'd on both sides since the said Conference until now, as are contain'd in the said Edict, in the fifty-fifth Article, all Proceedings, Sentences, and Decrees, and whatever has follow'd thereupon notwithstanding; which shall be declar'd null and of no effect, as things never happen'd, derogating in respect to that to what is contain'd in the 25th Article of the said Conference; the which notwithstanding shall remain in full force and vertue for the future. In which Pardons shall be included the taking of *Bazaz* and *Langon*: The first taken during the War in the Year 1576, and the other after the said Conference of *Nerac*, and what has ensued thereupon, all Judgments and Decrees to the contrary notwithstanding.

XXIX. After the Publication of the said Edict, in that part where the said Duke of *Anjou* shall be, all Forces and Armies on both sides shall separate and retire; and after their being retir'd, that is, after the *French* Forces are disbanded and dismissed, and the Foreigners gone out of the Government of *Guienne*, in order to march out of the Kingdom.

After the Cities hereafter-mention'd shall be deliver'd into the hands of the said Duke of *Anjou*, the said King of *Navarre*, and those of the said Religion, and others who have been engag'd in their Party, shall be oblig'd to deliver into the hands of the said Duke of *Anjou*, the Cities of *Mande*, *Cabors*, *Monsegus*, *S. Million*, and *Mont-aigu*: Which *Mont-aigu* shall be dismantled as soon as it is delivered to the said Duke of *Anjou*.

XXX. Immediately after the Delivery of the said Cities, the said Duke of *Anjou* shall cause to be

be deliver'd unto the said King of *Navarre*, the Houses, Cities, and Castles belonging unto him, which he shall have in the Condition ordain'd by the Edict, and the Articles of the said Conference.

Henry III.
1580.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

XXXI. And the King shall at the same time order the City and Castle *de la Reolle* to be deliver'd into the hands of the said Duke of *Anjou*, who shall be responsible to his said Majesty for the same, and shall give it in keeping to the Vice-comte of *Turenne*, who shall enter into such Obligations, and make such promises as the said Duke of *Anjou* shall require to return, and re-deliver it into his hands in order to his restoring it to his Majesty, in case within two Months after the said Publication, the Cities yielded in the said Conference, seated in *Guienne*, should not be deliver'd by those of the said Religion, in the condition mention'd by the Articles of the said Conference: In respect to which Cities at present, still in possession of those of the said Religion, and left to them by the said Conference, the said King of *Navarre*, and those of the said Religion, shall promise the said Duke of *Anjou*, who will engage his word to the King for it, to march the Garisons out of them, and to restore them in the condition they ought to be by the said Edict and Conference, *viz.* Those of the Country of *Guienne* within the said two Months after the Publication of the said present Articles made in those parts where the said Duke of *Anjou* shall be, and those of *Languedoc*, within three Months after the said Publication made by the Governor or Lieutenant-General of the Province, without any Delays, Put-offs, or Difficulties, upon any account or pretence whatever. And as to the Liberty and Guard of the said Cities, they shall observe what is enjoin'd them by the said Article

Henry III. of the said Conference. And they shall do the
 1580. same for those that have been given them in
 Pope Gre- keeping for their surety by the said Edict, and
 gory XIII. they shall nominate unto his Majesty Persons,
 whose Manners, Qualifications, and Conditions
 are answerable to what is requir'd by the Edict,
 to command in the same, and they shall be ob-
 liged and bound to leave and to restore them
 in the condition mention'd by the said Edict,
 immediately after the expiration of the remain-
 der of the term of time that was granted them
 by the same, according to the Form, and under
 the Penalties therein contain'd.

XXXII. All other Cities, Places, Castles, and
 Houses belonging to the King, and to Ecclesiasticks,
 Lords, and Gentlemen, and other his Majesty's
 Subjects of both Religions; together with their
 Titles, Papers, Instructions, and other things
 whatever, shall be restor'd in the condition
 ordain'd by the Edict and Articles of the
 Conference, into the hands of the Owners there-
 of, immediately after the said Publication of the
 said present Articles, to leave them the free En-
 joyment and Possession thereof, as they had it
 before their being dispossest'd, on the Penalties
 contain'd in the said Edict and Articles, notwith-
 standing the Right of Propriety were disputed.
 And shall clear the said Cities, Places, and Castles
 of all Garisons, to which end the Articles of
 the Edict and Conference concerning the Go-
 vernments and Garisons of the Forts and Castles
 of the Provinces, Cities and Castles, shall be
 executed according to their Form and Tenor.

XXXIII. For the effecting of which the said
 Duke of *Anjou* has promis'd to remain into the
 said Country of *Guienne*, during the said time of
 two Months, to execute and cause the said Edict
 and Articles to be put in execution, according to
 the

the Power given unto him by his said Majesty, ^{Henry III. 1580.} the which shall be publish'd to that end, and a ^{Pope Gregory XIII.} Council of capable and fit Persons establish'd about his Person.

XXXIV. The forty-eighth Article of the said Edict, concerning *The Liberty of Commerce, and the abolishing of all new Tolls and Subsidies*, impos'd by any Authority but the King's, shall be observ'd and effected : And in consideration of the Abuses and Infractions made to the Edict since the Publication thereof, in relation to the Salt of *Pecquaiz*, Prohibitions shall be made to all Persons, of what Quality or Condition soever, directly to hinder the Draggage of Salt of *Pecquaiz*, to impose, exact, or raise any Subsidies, either upon Marches, upon the River *Rhône*, or elsewhere, in any place or kind soever, without expresse leave from his Majesty, on pain of Death.

XXXV. All pieces of Ordnance belonging to his Majesty, that have been taken during the present and precedent Troubles, shall be restor'd immediately, according to the forty-third of the secret Articles.

XXXVI. The thirtieth Article of the said Edict, concerning Prisoners and Ransoms, shall be follow'd and observ'd in relation to those who have been made Prisoners since the renewing of the War, and have not been yet deliver'd.

XXXVII. The King of *Navarre* and Prince of *Condé*, shall effectually enjoy their Governments, according to what is specify'd by the said Edict, and secret Articles.

XXXVIII. The raising of six hundred thousand Livres, which was granted and allow'd by the said Articles, shall be continu'd according to the Commissions that have been issued out since

Henry III. by virtue thereof, to which his Majesty shall be
 1580. intreated to add the Sums of forty-five thousand
 Pope Gre- Livres, furnish'd and advanc'd by the *Sieur de*
 gory XIII. *la Nouë*.

XXXIX. The twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth of the Secret Articles, agreed on at *Bergerac*, concerning the Oaths and Promises to be made by the King, the Queen his Mother, the Duke of *Anjou* his Brother, the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*, shall be reiterated and accomplish'd.

XL. The Princes of the Blood, Officers of the Crown, Governors, and Lieutenants-General, Bailiffs, Seneschals of the Provinces, and principal Magistrates of this Kingdom, shall swear and promise to cause the said Edicts, and present Articles, to be kept and observ'd, to employ themselves and use their endeavours, every one in their station, for the punishing of the Infractioners.

XLI. The Courts of Parliament in bodies shall take the same Oath, which shall be reiterated at every new Entry, which shall be made once a year, on the Festival of *St. Martin*, at which they shall cause the said Edict to be read and republish'd.

XLII. The Seneschals and Officers of the Seneschalships and presidial Tribunals shall also take the same Oath in a body, and shall reiterate it, and cause the said Edict to be read and publish'd again on every first day of Jurisdiction after *Epiphany*, or Twelfth-day.

XLIII. The Provosts, Majors, Jurors, Consuls, Capitouls and Sheriffs of Cities, shall take the like Oath in a publick Place, to which they shall summon the principal Inhabitants of both Religions, and shall reiterate the same at every new Election of the said Offices.

XLIV.

XLIV. All the above-mention'd, and all o-^{Henry III.}
ther Subjects whatever of this Kingdom, of ^{1580.}
what Quality soever, shall depart from, and re ^{Pope Gre-}
nounce all Leagues, Associations, Fraternities ^{gory XIII.}
and Intelligences, both within and without the
Kingdom: And shall swear to make none here-
after, or adhere to any, nor otherwise to trans-
gres, directly or indirectly, the said Edict, Ar-
ticles and Conferences, on the Penalties therein
mention'd.

XLV. All Officers Royal, and others, Majors,
Jurats, Capitouls, Consuls, and Sheriffs, shall an-
swer in their own and private Names, for all
the Infractions that shall be made of the said
Edict, for want of punishing of the Infractors,
both in a Civil and Corporal manner, according
to the nature of the Offence.

XLVI. And for the remainder of what is
contain'd and ordain'd by the said Edicts, Con-
ferences, and Articles, it shall be executed and
observ'd in every particular, according to its
Form and Tenor.

*Done at Fleix, near Sancte-Foy, the 26th Day of
November, 1580. Thus sign'd by the Duke of
Anjou, the King's Brother, with his own
Hand,*

FRANCIS.

And by the King of Navarre's own Hand,

HENRY.

XLVII. Since the signing of the Articles at
Fleix, on the 26th of the last Month, it has been
agreed between the said Duke of *Anjou*, and the
King of *Navarre*, and those of the pretended
Reform'd Religion, that instead of the City and
Castle

Henry III. Castle of *la Reolle*, mention'd in the thirty-first
 1580. of the said Articles, the Cities of *Figeac* in
 Pope Gre- *Quercy*, and *Monsegur* in *Bazadois*, shall be left
 gory XIII. to the King of *Navarre*, and those of the said
 Religion, for the surety of their Persons; and
 shall keep them during the time that is remain-
 ing of six Years granted by the Edict of Peace,
 on the same account as the other Cities have
 been left to them. And for the surety of the
 said Cities the King shall maintain for the said
 King of *Navarre*, two Companies of Foot, each
 consisting of fifty Men, over and above the
 Number of the other Garisons, granted by the se-
 cret Articles. And good and valuable Assigna-
 tions shall be given for the Maintenance of the
 said Garisons, and the said City and Castles of
la Reolle restor'd in the same condition, as the
 other Cities not given in guard. The whole ac-
 cording to the King's pleasure.

Done at Coutras on the 16th Day of December,
1580. Thus sign'd with the own Hand of the
Duke of Anjou, Brother to the King,

FRANCIS.

And the said own Hand of the King of Navarre,

HENRY.

The King having seen, and maturely consider'd
word by word the entire Contents in these present
Articles, propos'd in the Conference held between
the Duke of Anjou, his only Brother, at Fleix and
Coutras, the King of Navarre, and the Deputies
of those of the said pretended Reform'd Religion,
who were assembled there to facilitate the Execu-
tion of the last Edict of Pacification, the said
Articles

Articles agreed on and sign'd on both sides in the ^{Henry III.}
said Places of Fleix and Coutras, his Majesty has ^{1580.}
approv'd, confirm'd, ratify'd them, wills and re- ^{Pope Gre-}
quires them to be observ'd and executed, according ^{gory XIII.}
to their Form and Tenor, and that the Patents
and Dispatches that are necessary be immediately
made and sent.

Done at Blois the 25th Day of December, 1580.

Thus sign'd,

HENRY.

And underneath,

PINART.

Read, Published, and Registred, Heard by, and thereunto consenting, the King's Attorney-General in consequence of the other Letters concerning the Case of the Pacification of the Troubles of this Kingdom, heretofore Publish'd and Registred at Paris in Parliament, the 26th Day of January, in the Year 1581.

Thus sign'd,

DU TILLET.

The King's Ediēt about the Pacification of the Troubles, containing a Confirmation, Amplification and Declaration, as well of the precedent Ediēts made upon the same Subject, even in the Year 1577. as of the Articles agreed on at the Conference of Nerac, published at Paris in Parliament on the 26th of January, 1581.

HENRY, by the Grace of God, King of France and Poland, to all those present and hereafter to come, GREETING.

Notwithstanding, that since the Agreement and Publication of our Ediēt and Pacification
 made

Henry III. made in the Year, 1577. we have used our utmost endeavours to put the same in execution, and to oblige our Subjects to follow and observe it, even so far as to put the Queen our most honour'd Lady and Mother to the trouble of repairing to the principal Provinces of our Kingdom, to remedy and provide against, according to her usual Prudence, the Difficulties and Obstacles which deprived our said Subjects of the Benefit of our said Edict; whereupon follow'd the Articles of the Conference at *Nerac*, between the said Lady accompanied with some of the principal Princes of our Blood and Lords of our Privy Council, and our most dear and most beloved Brother the King of *Navarre*, assisted by the Deputies of our Subjects who profess the pretended *Reform'd* Religion. Yet not having been able, to our great regret, to avoid the Troubles being renewed in our Kingdom, we have endeavoured and used all the most proper and most agreeable means we have been able to devise, to extinguish them and to deliver our said Subjects from the Miseries of War; having to that end by our Letters Patent empowered our most dear and most beloved only Brother the Duke of *Anjou* to cause our said Edict of Pacification to be entirely executed, together with the Articles of the said Conference of *Nerac*: Who being since, according to our intention, gone into our Country and Dutchy of *Guienne*, and there having upon the said Subject conferred at large with our said Brother the King of *Navarre* and the Deputies of our said Subjects professing the pretended *Reform'd* Religion, there convened and assembled: The Articles annexed to these Presents, under the Counter-seal of our Chancery, were there proposed, Which said Articles being sent to us by our said Brother,

Brother, we having examined and considered the same, out of a singular desire to banish out of our Kingdom the Impieties, Extortions and other Accidents, occasioned by the said Troubles, to restore the Honour and Service of God, give way to Justice and to relieve our poor People, have out of our own Inclination, full Power and Royal Authority, approved the said Articles, the same do approve and ratify by these Presents signed with our own Hand; and it is our Will and Pleasure that the same should be followed, kept, executed, and inviolably observed, according to their Form and Tenor, in the same manner as our said Edict of Pacification.

Henry III.
1580.
Pope Gregory XIII.

Therefore we command and require our trusty and well-beloved the Persons holding our Courts of Parliament, Chambers of our Accounts, Courts of our Aids, Bailiffs, Seneschals, Provosts, and other our Justices and Officers, to whom it may belong, or their Lieutenants, to cause the said Articles hereunto annexed to be read, published, registered, kept, executed, and inviolably observed in the same manner as our said Edict of Pacification, and the Articles granted in the said Conference of *Nerac*, making all those that are concerned fully and peaceably enjoy and receive the Benefit of what is contain'd therein, putting a stop to all Troubles and Impediments to the contrary: For such is our Pleasure. And to the end that it may be firm and IRREVOCABLE, we have caused our Seal to be affixed to these Presents.

Given at Blois in the Month of December, 1580, &c.

Signed,

HENRY.

With all other usual Formalities.

We

Henry III. We have seen already several Edicts given in
 1581. behalf of the Reformed in *France*, by *Charles*
Pope Gre- IX. and *Henry III.* whereupon I think proper
gory XIII. to make the following Observations.

CXXXIV. 1°. That these Edicts must not be looked upon
Some gene- as certain Laws prescribed by Sovereigns, with-
ral Reflec- out consulting their Subjects, but as so many
tions upon Treaties drawn into a Form of Laws. Indeed
all the for- they were Laws so truly named, tho' they con-
mer Edicts. tain nothing else but certain Dispositions of our
 Kings, whereupon they had agreed with our Fore-
 fathers of the Reform'd Religion. Properly
 speaking, they are the Result of all the Confe-
 rences held between our Kings and our Chiefs
 and Protectors, for finding out ways and means
 how to pacify the Kingdom. And these Trea-
 ties have been drawn in form of Law for the
 greater Sanction's sake: What I say, is made
 very plain by experience. The Edict of January
 1561, was but the Result of a Conference held
 between the most Notables of the Kingdom and
 the Prince of Condé, the Admiral and some o-
 ther of our Chiefs. That of 1563, was likewise
 the Consequence of a Treaty for putting an end
 to the first Civil War. And, those that follow
 in 1568, 1570, 1573, 1576, 1577, 1579,
 and 1580, are of the like nature, and intended
 to pacify the Troubles of the Kingdom; for
 which cause, they are called Edicts of Pacifica-
 tion.

2°. These Edicts have been confirmed by the
 most solemn Oaths. The Infidelity of the Ro-
 man Catholicks having rendered ineffectual the
 first Edicts given by King Charles, the Refor-
 med thought that for their future Security it
 was requisite to oblige their Enemies to swear
 upon the exact Observation of these Edicts grant-
 ed them by the King.

The

The first Edict, which was sworn upon, was that of 1570; but they required only that the Governors of Provinces, their Deputies, the Bailiffs, Seneschals, and other ordinary Officers, the Mayors and Sheriffs, and such annual Officers of the Towns, should take the said Oath. Then the Perfidiousness of 1572, obliged them to require for greater caution, that the principal Inhabitants of the Cities should swear to the Observation of that granted in 1573. Furthermore the Nobility, Gentry, and Courts of Parliament were obliged likewise to swear to the Observation of that granted by King Henry in 1576. At last, all these Oaths being not able to restrain them from the Violation of the said Edicts, it was thought proper to engage the King, the Queen-Mother, the Duke of *Anjou*, the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Condé*, to swear upon the same, which was agreed in the Conference of *Bergerac*; and that Agreement was renewed at the Conference of *Fleix*, and executed by the Edict of 1580.

Lastly, it must be observed, that all these Edicts, especially that of 1570, and the following, have been declared to be PERPETUAL and IRREVOCABLE. I don't pretend that *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.* intended them to be so really; we know that *Charles IX.* did nothing to break through his Word and most solemn Promises; and *Henry III.* was so weak as to promise to the *Leaguers*, that whatever Oath he should take to maintain the Reformed in their just Rights, nevertheless his real Intention and Meaning was to suffer in his Kingdom but one Religion, viz. the Catholick.

But is any Man in the world, when he treats with another, obliged to guess the real intention of him who contracts with him, when the Words

of

Henry III.
1581.
Pope Gregory XIII.

Henry III. of the Contract are plain, and their Meaning obvious to every Capacity; if the contracting Party tells me, you shall be allowed to pray and to preach in such a place and at such a time, must I understand by that a Prohibition never to pray or to preach in such a place, and at such a time? The case is precisely the same in this respect; the Kings *Charles* and *Henry* made such and such Concessions in plain words to the Reformed by their Edicts, the Reformed were not obliged to trouble themselves to consider whether their Kings were in earnest or not, or whether they really intended to perform their Promises, or only to amuse them; their only Business was first to fulfil their own Engagements, and then to enjoy the Concessions made unto them, or to force their Enemies to the execution of the Articles stipulated and agreed upon, when their Complaints and Petition for Redress of Grievances proved fruitless. But more of this, under the Reign of *Lewis XIV.*

CXXXV. The Kingdom was afflicted since the middle of last Year by two different epidemical Distempers, *Coqueluche* and *Plague*. The first had its rise in the *East*, from whence it came into *Italy* and *Spain*, and was mortal: for *Anna*, Queen of *Spain*, King *Philip's* Consort, died with it, and Pope *Gregory* was in the greatest danger of his Life; then it reached the *North*, and made great havock every where. At first they knew not in *France* what Remedy to apply to that Distemper, which they called *Coqueluche*: A Word invented for it under *Lewis XII.* in the Year 1510. when that Sickness raged in the Kingdom after the *Plague* and *Famine* had desolated it for two Years together. Tho' many People died with it, it was less dreadful by its deadly Effects than by its wonderful Progress, reaching suddenly

denly from one Plate into another; great Pains in the Back, Heaviness in the Head and upon the Heart, Weakness in all the Parts of the Body were the Symptoms thereof: if the Patient was not killed by it or cured in four or five Days, it turned into a Fever which destroyed him. Those who took no Physick or did nothing else fared the better; but it was deadly almost for all those who took Physick or were let Blood. That Distemper lasted but 6 Months in *France*, from June to the latter End of the Year; but the Plague lasted four Years, and raged with such Fury in all the Provinces, that almost the fourth Part of the People were swept away: At *Paris* from last June to the middle of January it carried away above forty thousand, and it was observed that most of them were of the meanest Sort of People. That City became almost like a Desert, and the richest having forsaken their own Houses, they were plundered by Thieves and Robbers which went armed in the Night-time, and carried away whatever they met with, notwithstanding the Care of the Magistrates.

On the 19th of November 1580 at 9 o'clock in the Evening, a Fire broke out accidentally in the *Cordeliers* Church, which consumed the same in a little Time, and their Convent was preserved with great Difficulty. The Occasion thereof was unknown for some Years, and the good Friars, out of Hatred against the Reformed, failed not to charge them with the Fact; but they were afterwards fully cleared of it, when one of their *Novices* lying at the Point of Death, owned in his last Will, that at such an Evening, being much in Liquor, he fell asleep in one of the Chapels, which was all over wainscoted, and wherein many

Henry III.
1581
Pope Gregory XIII.

CXXXVI
The Cordeliers
Church
destroyed
by Fire.

Henry III. Wax Candles were lighted ; that being suddenly awoke, he saw the Church all over in Flames, whereat being frightned, he ran into the Convent, but durst not give any Notice of the Matter. (p)

1531.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.
CXXXVII.
State of
the Reformed
in the
Kingdom.

This last Edict granted to the Reformed was not much better observed than the former, every Day brought forth some new Contraventions, and every Day some new Complaints thereof were brought to Court: but tho' the King could have wished that such Things had not happened which interrupted the Course he was bent to follow, nevertheless very little Redress of these Grievances could be obtained of him, and he let them know plainly, that though he intended no harm against them, yet they ought not to expect any Favour of him. And indeed not only all Places and Preferments either at Court, or in the Provinces, either in the Civil or in the Military, were bestowed only upon Catholicks, to the utter Exclusion of the Reformed, the *Cautionary Towns* excepted, but they were even denied Justice as to their just Rights.

Thus the Reformed were in a very precarious State for 4 or 5 Years, and their Religion suffered much more by these Methods which the King followed with them, than it had done by Persecutions and Sword. For those amongst them who were given up to Avarice or Ambition, and indeed they were not in small Number, seeing that their Perseverance was an Obstacle to their Advancement, did not scruple to renounce their Religion ; some of them however were so little satisfied in their own Conscience as to the Truth of the Roman Religion, that they were careful enough to have their own Children brought up in the reformed Profession,

(p) Thuani, lib. 72.

while

while others were so ridiculouſly tender, as to Henry III. 1581. Pope Gregory XIII. themselves, that they durſt not forſake their former Profeſſion, but cauſed their Children to be brought up in the *Roman Religion.* (q)

The Court of *Nerac* generally ſpeaking wallowed in Pleaſures, little minding the Conſequences of this Kind of Calmneſs. Queen *Margaret* as aboveſaid was the Soul thereof. That Princeſs, the very Picture of her Mother as to Luxury and other Extravagancies, was now about 29 Years old, being born on the 14th of *May* 1552, her Nuptials with *Henry* King of *Navarre* in *Auguſt* 1572, were, we may ſay, the Signal of that dreadful Maſſacre of the Reformed. She was an exquisite Beauty, and her Adorers extolled her ſo far beyond human Nature, that ſhe began to think that really ſhe was ſomething more than human, and ſtilled herſelf *VENUS URANIA*, or the *heavenly Venus*. Her Wit was equal to her Beauty, but her Lasciviouſneſs exceeded them both. Her inceſtuouſ Converſation with two of her own Brethren, King *Henry*, when Duke of *Anjou*, and *Francis* Duke of *Alençon*, were notoriously known in her own Times; the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *Mayenne*, the Viſcount of *Turenne*, and thouſands others of all Rank and Condition, even amongſt the meaneſt Sort of People, were Complices of her diſorderly Life. The Hatred of the King her Brother could not ſcarce be carried any further, tho' not ſo much out of a Principle of Virtue, as out of Jealouſy and Revenge, becauſe ſhe gave the Preference to the Duke of *Alençon*; he upbraided her with her Diſſoluteneſs in Preſence of the whole Court, charged her with having had a

Y 2

Baſtard

(q) Recueil deschoſes Memorables arrivées en France ſous Henry III. Mezeray, 3 Partie. Tom. V.

Henry III. Bastard by *James de Harlay Chanvallon*; he expelled her ignominiously out of *Paris*, then
 1581.
 Pope Gre- he gave Orders to one of the Captains of his
 gory XIII Guards to pursue her with 60 Archers; they overtook her beyond *Palaiseau*, they searched her Litter, and pulled off her Mask, they seized her Equerry, Physician and Apothecary, with two Ladies of her Retinue, and carried them to the Abby of *Ferrieres*, near *Montargis*, where the King waited for them, they were separated in several Chambers, and interrogated apart by his Majesty himself about the Life and Conversation of his own Sister; some of them were sent to the *Bastile*, and others released. This happened in 1583.

The King of *Navarre* did not resent such a great Affront put upon him as he ought to do; For either his Consort was guilty or not guilty; In the first Case, his own Honour obliged him not to receive her upon any account soever, and to live separated from her till a better Opportunity should offer itself for being divorced; In the second Case, he ought not to desist by any means, nor upon any account soever, till he had received a suitable Satisfaction. Nevertheless after having sent *Du Plessis Mornay*, and some others to the King with Complaints of the Fact, he saw himself very haughtily treated by *Bellievre*, whom the King had sent unto him upon that Account, and who told him to his Face, that the King of *Navarre* was but a Subject to the King of *France*, therefore he ought to submit to his Will without presuming to cope with him; he swallowed that Pill, and without any further Resistance he went to *Nerac* to receive his *Margaret*.

She lived there till the said King her Husband having been excommunicated by the Pope
 in.

in 1586, she took that Pretence for eloping from him and went to *Agen* and declared herself for the *League*; but by her own and *Lady Duras's* ill Management and scandalous Behaviour, she obliged the Inhabitants to join with *Marshal de Matignon*, who seized that City for the King, and she was forced to fly in the greatest Disorder, having not so much as a Smock for shifting herself; she retired to *Carlat* in *Auvergne*, the Inhabitants whereof, at the Instigation of the King her Brother, being ready to betray her, she made her Escape, but she was overtaken and arrested Prisoner by the *Marquis de Canillac*, and brought to the Castle of *Usson* in *Auvergne*. Her Goaler soon became her own Captive, she prevailed so far upon him, that she became absolute Mistress of that Place, and expelled him out of it. There she remained till the Year 1605. She made of that Castle another Island of *Caprea*, where she indulged herself in all manner of Lewdness, she got another Bastard by one *Aubiac* one of her Eque-ries, who was hanged a little after at *Aigueperse*. Henry IV. her Husband having ascended the Throne, she constantly denied her Consent to a Divorce as long as the Dukes of *Beaufort* lived; but that Lady was no sooner dead, than she consented readily, and having been a great Help to the said King for the Discovery of the Duke of *Biron* and the Count of *Auvergne's* Plot, she was invited to come to Court, where she was most honourably received by *Henry* and *Mary of Medicis* his second Wife. She was lodged at first in the Castle of *Bologn*, then in *Sens' House*, which she left and went to live in the Suburb of *St. Germain*, where she built a magnificent Palace: Her Life in that Place was a Mixture of Intrigues, Devotions,

Henry III
1581.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Henry III. and Study, she died on the 27th of *March*
 1581. 1615. She wrote some Memoirs of her own
 Pope Gre- Life, which she dedicated to *Brantome*, but they
 gory XIII. don't reach any further than the Year 1582 ;
 and the Reader, to be sure, must not expect
 to find in them a Confession of her Sins, but
 they are written with abundance of Wit. (r)

Such being the Character of the Queen of
Navarre, and the King her Husband suffering
 her to indulge her unlawful Desires, nay forcing
 her to go farther in that respect than she
 had a mind, as it happened in the Viscount of
Turenne's Case ; it is easy to imagine what Dis-
 soluteness was to be seen in a Court where the
 Patrons and Patterns were so qualified. The
 King of *Navarre* owned himself, at the break-
 ing out of the 7th Civil War in 1585 much ob-
 liged to his Enemies, for having awakened him
 out of his Slumber ; for had they left him at
 Rest, as in good Policy they ought to have
 done, very likely he would never have been able
 to obtain the Crown of *France*, and would have
 been obliged to live in some Corner of *Guienne*. (s)

However, that Dissoluteness was not of a
 long Duration, at least it hindered not the
 King of *Navarre* from hearkening to the good
 Advices of his most faithful Servants, such as
 were *La Noue*, *Du Plessis Mornay*, *De Clervant*,
 and some others whose Names are recorded in
 History with great Encomiums. Nay, those
 young Lords of his Court that indulged them-
 selves so far in unlawful Pleasures at this Time,
 were so much altered for the better, that they
 became very serviceable to their Party, and a
 great

(r) Vie de Du Plessis Mornay ; Memoires dud. Tom. I. Mezeray 3 Part. Tom. 5. Divorce Satyr. Brantome Dames Illustres. D'Aubigne Tom. II. Liv. 4, Ch. 5. &c. &c.

(s) Preface Hist. des Henry le Grand, pag. 71, 72.

great Ornament to *Henry IVth's* Court. Such Henry III. 1581. Pope Gregory XIII. were the Viscount of *Turenne*, the Count of *Montgomery* and several others. Having already taken notice in the former Volume of the most renowned *La Noue*, surnamed *IRON ARM* ; it will be proper to say now something concerning *Du Plessis Mornay*, who began at this Time to make so great a Figure in the King of *Navarre's* Council, and had so great a Share henceforward in that Prince's Conduct and glorious Success.

PHILIP of *MORNAY*, Lord of *Plessis Mar-*CLXXXIX. Of Du Plessis Mornay.
ly, Baron of *La Forest* upon *Seure*, one of the King's Privy Council, and State's Council, Captain of a Band of fifty Men at Arms, Governor and Lieutenant General for his Majesty in the City, and Seneschalship of *Saumur*, &c. a Gentleman not only the greatest of his own Age, but who could be paralleled for his rare and requisite Qualifications and Endowments with the greatest Men of Antiquity, was born early in the Morning on the 5th of *November 1549*, at the Castle of *Buby* in the *French Vexine*. His Father was *James* of *Mornay* of the most noble and most ancient House of the *Mornays* that was flourishing in *France* even before the 10th Century ; Part of a Branch thereof came over into *England* with *William the Conqueror*, and settled here, but was extinct in *Eustachius* of *Estouteville* in 1242, who was succeeded in his Estates by *Hugues Wake* in the Right of his Wife ; t'other Part of the same Branch remained in *France*, and was allied to the most illustrious Houses of the Kingdom, even to the Priuces of the Blood. The other Branch of *Mornay* was likewise most illustrious by the great Employment and Charges they were possessed of, and by the most noble Alliances

Henry III. they contracted. Out of this Branch came *James*
 1581. Father of our *Philip*. His Mother was of the
 Pope Gre- most illustrious House of *Du Bec Crespin* in
 gory XIII. *Normandy*, descended from *Andergot*, Nephew
 to *Rollo* the *Dane* first Duke of *Normandy*,
 which Family deserved by their great Services
 done to *William the Conqueror*, the hereditary
 Dignity of High Constable of *Normandy*, which
 fell afterwards in the House of *Tancarville*, and
 then in *Longueville's*. A Branch of that illu-
 strious House came over and settled in *England*,
 whose great Estates fell by Inheritance to the
 House of *Willoughby*. The Branch settled in
France enjoyed for a long time some of the
 greatest Charges of the Kingdom. *Charles Du*
Bec Lord of *Bourry*, &c. &c. Knight of the
 King's Orders, and Vice-Admiral of *France*,
 was Father to *Frances Du Bec*, &c. Mother to
 our *Philip*; she was Sister to *Peter Du Bec*,
 Lord of *Vardes*, and *Charles Du Bec* Baron of
Bourry, who signalized themselves in the reform'd
 Party at the Battle of *St. Denis* in 1567, having
 brought and furnished the best Part of the Foot
 of the Prince's Army, besides the vast Num-
 ber of Volunteers of the *Vexine* and of *Nor-*
mandy that followed them on account of the
 hereditary Reputation of their House; they
 had a younger Brother, *Philip Du Bec* by Name,
 successively Bishop of *Vannes* and *Nantz*, then
 Archbishop and Duke of *Rheims*, one of the
 associated Prelates of the Order of the Holy
 Ghost, a Man of great Learning, who enjoy'd
 till the Year 1605, the Honour of having been
 one of the most considerable Prelates of the *Gal-*
lican Church that assisted at the Council of *Trent*.

Such were the House, Family and Parents of
Philip of Mornay Lord of *Plessis*. His Father
 was much addicted to the Superstitions of the
 Roman

Roman Church, and was very careful to have his Children brought up in the same Way. But his Mother, a Lady of Courage and Prudence far above her Sex, was inclined to the Reform'd Religion, whereof she made a secret Profession even in her Husband's Time, and took care, as much as she could do it, without offending him, to inculcate it in her own Children; nay, she was so courageous as to venture to convert her Husband in his last Sickness, which Attempt God Almighty blessed with a happy Success. They intended at first to bring up their Son to be a Church-man, upon some worldly Consideration, because *Bertin de Mornay* his Uncle, Dean of *Beauvais* and Abbot of *Saumer* near *Bologn*, was willing, as he said, to resign his Benefices to him; but these Hopes vanished away by that Uncle's Death, before he could execute his Intention. *Du Plessis* was then about eight Years old; his first Tutor had been *Gabriel Prestat* of *Sesane* in *Brie*, a Reform'd, but unknown to his Pupil's Father, tho' his Mother was acquainted with it, but who dared not to speak too openly to him concerning Religion for fear of the worst.

At nine Years old he was brought to *Paris*, and put by his Father into the College of *Lisieux*, where he made but very indifferent Improvements for two Years together that he was there, because of the bad State of his Health. He was sent for by the latter End of 1560 to attend his Father's Funerals. (*)

The

(*) *Agricola* mistakes grossly, when he says, that *Peter* and *Charles Du Bec* had engaged their Brother-in-law *James of Mornay* to take Party with them in Behalf of the Reformed, since he was certainly dead at the breaking out of the first Civil War in 1562. *Agric. Addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau. Tom. 2. Liv. 6. Ch. 7. pag. 458.*
True

Henry III. The Messenger that was sent for him was
 1581. a Priest, Dean of Magny, who having taken
 Pope Gre- Notice that his Mother adhered to the Re-
 gory XIII. formed Doctrine, exhorted him upon the Road,
 to beware of the LUTHERAN Tenets, and told
 him that his Mother was infected with them, that
 he ought to persevere in the Religion wherein he
 had been brought up. Whereto young Du Plessis
 replied, that he was resolved to be stedfast in
 what he had learnt concerning the true Worship
 of God, and that whenever any Doubt should a-
 rise in his Mind about some Points, he would
 immediately be determined by reading diligently
 the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. That
 Answer from a Child not quite eleven Years
 old gave great Suspicions to his Conductor, that
 he was informed of his Mother's Dispositions,
 and that he had been instructed in her Opini-
 ons; therefore he told him, that he took a very
 bad Way, and that it did not belong to every one
 to read the Holy Scriptures. Being arrived at
 his Father's House, little by little he became
 fully convinced of the Falshood of the Roman
 Doctrines by comparing them with the Holy
 Bible; and at last his Mother having declared
 herself openly for the Reformed Religion in
 the latter End of the Year 1561, he and his
 eldest Brother *de Buby* followed her Example.
 Then having an earnest Inclination for Study,
 he went back to *Paris* in 1562, but the first
 Civil War breaking out about this Time, he was
 obliged to come back to his House, where he
 stayed

True it is that his eldest Son *De Buby* took Party with the
 Reformed, and was Cornet to his Uncle *de Vardes* in the
 2d Civil War, and that our *Du Plessis* was going to join
 them at the Siege of *Chartres* when he had one of his Legs
 broken by the Fall of his Horse, but their Father was
 dead long before that Time. *Vie de Du Plessis*, Liv. 1.

stayed a whole Year, then he went back a-^{Henry III.}gain to *Paris*, and in four Years Time he ^{1581.}made such a wonderful Progress in all kind of ^{Pope Gre-}useful Learning, that he was justly admired ^{gory XIII.}not only by his Professors, but by all the Learned that became acquainted with him. There he resisted the Temptations whereto he was exposed by his Uncle then Bishop of *Nantz* his most advantageous Offers, if he would change his Religion. In the Year 1568 in the 18th Year of his Age he went upon his Travels through *Switzerland, Germany, Italy, the Low Countries* and *England*, and wherever he passed he was the Object of the Admiration, Esteem and Love of the several great and learned Men with whom he conversed in these several Countries. Queen *Elizabeth* and the Prince of *Orange* honoured him with peculiar Marks of their real Esteem. He returned to *Paris* in July 1572, Admiral *de Coligny* received him with great Distinction; he imparted to that Lord in Writing very ample Memoirs of every thing material he had observed in *Flanders*, and gave him a Discourse of his own concerning the Justice and Utility of waging War against PHILIP II^d, King of SPAIN, which for the Perspicuity and Strength of the Arguments, may be paralleled with any of *Demosthenes's* O-rations against *Philip* of *Macedon*, and deserves to be read by a true *Briton*, either in *Thuanus's* Book 51. or in *Du Plessis Mornay's* Memoirs, Vol. I. he will find in it many Things agreeing with our present Circumstances. The Admiral tendered them both to King *Charles IX.*, and whereas the said Discourse was found amongst the Admiral's Papers after his Death, it was ascribed unto him by *Scaliger*, who caused it to be printed, and dedicated it to the Prin-

cess

Henry III. cefs of *Orange*, Daughter to the ſaid Admiral,
 1581. and *Teligni's* Widow; *Tbuanus* copied after
Pope Gre- *Scaliger*, and aſcribed it likewise to the Ad-
gory XIII. miral.

However, *Du Plessis* received the Commiſſion of going to treat with the Prince of *Orange*, but the Maſſacre happening at that ſame time, his Commiſſion was of no Effect. It was with great Difficulty that he eſcaped the Danger of thoſe dreadful Days, he came out of *Paris* in a Diſguiſe, he was arreſted at *St. Denis's* Gate, but releaſed upon the written Teſtimony of a Scrivener who managed the Affairs of his Houſe at *Paris*, and who declared upon the Back of a Note he had received from him, that *Philip* his Clerk was neither a ſeditious Perſon or a Rebel, and ſubſcribed his own Name. Being freed from that Danger, he came over to *England* where he ſtayed till the Year 1574, and from that Time, though he was not much above 24 Years old, to the latter End of his Life, he was conſtantly employed in the Management of publick Buſineſs. And I don't know what to admire the more in that Lord, either his political or moral Virtues or Chriſtian Graces, either his vaſt Learning in all Kinds of Arts and Sciences, or his military Atchievements; ſeeing that he reunited in his own Perſon the Valour and Prudence of the greateſt Captains, the Penetration and Sagacity of the quickeſt Politicians, the Learning of the ſublimeſt Divine, the Exactneſs of the deepeſt Logician, the Virtues of the beſt Moralits, and the Graces of the moſt renowned Saints. All theſe Qualifications of his Soul were joined with a ſtrong Conſtitution of his Body, whereby he was enabled to bear with the greateſt Fatigues he had to undergo, and with a continual

tinual Application either to Business or to his ^{Henry III.} Studies, till a few Years before his Death, which ^{1581.} happened on the 11th of November 1623, ^{Pope Gregory XIII.} having begun the 75th Year of his Age. He died in low Circumstances, considering his Quality, his long Services, and the Estate he enjoyed by Inheritance and by his Marriage with Lady *Charlotte Arbaleste*, Relict of the Lord *John of Paz*, Baron of *Fouquieres*, and which he had spent in the Service of *Henry IV.* and Part of *Lewis XIII.*; the Ungratefulness of the first, the Injustice of the second, will cast a lasting Spot upon the Memory of these two Princes, we will mention them in their proper Places. Had he less adhered to strict Virtue, he would have been advanced by *Henry IV.* and had he been less zealous for his Religion, *Lewis XIII.* would have restored him to his Government of *Saumur*, which he had resigned into his hands at the Beginning of the Civil War, and paid him off about four hundred thousand Crowns due unto him, either for his Salaries of 46 Years Services, or for the necessary Reparations, &c. he had made at *Saumur* at his own Charge for the King's Service. He left but three Daughters married; but he left a numerous Offspring of his Genius, which will be a lasting Monument of his true Zeal and Piety, as well as of his vast Learning, the Principal whereof, that I know of, are a Treatise upon Life and Death; a Treatise upon the Truth of Christian Religion; a Treatise upon the Church; the Mystery of Iniquity; besides his Meditations upon several Subjects of the holy Scriptures; his Memoirs in five large Vols. in Quarto. (t)

(t) Vie de M. Du Plessis Mornay. Leyden 1647.

Henry III. The King of *France* had insisted much with
 1581. the King of *Navarre*, that he would restore
 Pope Gre- the Mass in his Dominions of *Bearn*. It was
 gory XIII. hard to deny it, because it was at his *Navar-*
 CXL. *rese* Majesty's Instances that he had granted the
 The King Reformed the free Exercise of their Religion in
 of France *France*, and on the other hand the Mass had
 insists upon been banished out of *Bearn* by the free and u-
 restoring nanimous Consent of the general States of that
 the Mass Principality; besides that that Prince had to
 in Bearn. deal with a Master who would not be refused.
 In these Perplexities he sent a Messenger to *Du*
Plessis, who was then in *Flanders*, to ask his
 Advice.

CXLI. He let him know, that if he could not delay
 DuPlessis's any longer, he ought to summon a Council in
 Answer to his own Dominions, whereto he should invite
 the King the Ecclesiasticks and Laymen of all Nations in
 of Na- *Europe*, who should have a mind to come, and
 varre upon give them all possible Security as to their Per-
 that Sub- sons, for debating freely with his Divines the
 ject. controverted Points. That if the Pope and
 the Prelates of the Roman Communion should
 oppose such a Convocation, and excommuni-
 cate those of their own Communion that should
 be present at it, then they will afford a just
 Pretence to say, that they eschew the Light
 lest their Imposture should be discovered. But
 if notwithstanding these Excommunications
 some of the Roman Clergy were willing to
 come, that would open a large Field to the
 King of *Navarre* for promoting the Glory of
 God, and acquiring a great Reputation all over
Christendom. In such a Case he must open the
 Conference himself with a fervent Prayer to
 God, followed with a fine and moving Speech
 to all his People, setting forth the Care he
 took not only for their temporal, but likewise
 for

for their eternal Welfare; and that he had summoned that Assembly to let them know what Reasons his *Mother* had had for reforming the *Church*, and he himself had now for following her Steps. Then he might address himself both to the Catholick and Reformed Clergymen, and ask them whether Jesus Christ is not come into the World for our Salvation? Whether he hath not given a certain written Rule thereof by his Apostles? Whether the Word of God contained in the Old and New Testament is not that Rule? Whether Jesus Christ hath not taught us in that Rule whatever is necessary towards our Salvation? Whether we are not obliged to follow in the Church whatever is prescribed in that Rule, and reject whatever is not? Either the Catholicks will allow these Points, or not. In the first Case, so much the better for us; in the second, it will be easy to convict them of Blasphemy.

Constantine the Great followed no other Method in the first Council of *Nice*, for deciding the *Arian* Controversy; he required that both Parties should take the Bible for their Judge. The Protestant Cantons of *Switzerland* did the like when they reformed their Church, the Magistrate asked the Priests whether the Bible was not the Rule of Salvation? Then they bid them to shew in it the Doctrines they taught to the People. Almost the same Thing was done in *England*.

Such Proceedings are just and lawful, and therefore blessed and favoured by God. The most obstinate remain stupified, being unable to gainsay; and there is none among the Catholicks themselves, howsoever careless they be of their Salvation, who feels not some Scrupel rising in his Mind, especially when the Conference

Henry III.
1581.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Henry III. 1581. Pope Gregory XIII. rence is well managed, and began by Points the less disputable; for when the Adversary is forced to yield in those Points, the Hearers begin to doubt of the others. Now that Method depends intirely upon the President, which must be the King of *Navarre* on this Occasion.

The Catholick Subjects of the said King shall have no Reason to be discontented, seeing the Care that is taken for satisfying them. The King of *France* cannot take it amiss, seeing that the Queen his Mother ordered a Conference at *Poissy* on the same account. That little Council held with such Formalities would be a Preparative for the States General of the *Principality*, who very likely will confirm the true Religion by their Authority, every Member thereof being ashamed to speak in behalf of the false, convicted to be such by the Word of God. Furthermore it would set a Pattern before other Princes and States, how to extricate themselves out of such like Difficulties. In short, such solemn Act of Piety and Prudence can but redound to the immortal Glory of the King of *Navarre*.

And it must not be said that the small Compass of his Dominions will not allow him to take such a Step: The less is his Power, and the greater will be his Virtue and Reputation. The Duke of *Saxony* who was the first in expelling the Mass out of his own Country, was subject to the Empire, which he had almost whole against him when he began, and he had neither the Forces and Means, nor the Alliances and Friends which the King of *Navarre* has. And *Christendom* was at that time quite otherwise disposed than it is at this Day. But the Fear of God did cast out of his noble and generous Soul all other Fear.

However

However, the said King of *Navarre* may ask Henry III. 1581. Pope Gregory XIII.
 Advice upon that Subject of the Reformed Churches of *France*, of the Queen of *England*, of the Duke *Casimir*, of the Prince of *Orange*, of the Protestant Cantons of *Switzerland* and their Allies, who shall think themselves so much the more obliged to support him against all Opposers that he shall have followed their Advices, &c. (v)

Such was *Du Plessis's* Answer, but that Affair was dropt for that Time, partly because the Court of *France* having got Intelligence of this Advice, did not insist with the King of *Navarre*, and partly because the last Troubles began at that Time, for it was at the beginning of 1580 when *Du Plessis* sent that Memoir.

On the 28th of *June* 1581, was held at *Rochelle* the 11th national Synod of the Reformed Churches of *France*, CXLII. The 11th National Synod of the Reformed Churches of France. *Monf. De Nort*, Minister of *Rochelle*, Moderator; *Mr. De la Plante* Minister of *Pringay*, Assessor; *Mess. De L'Estant* *Godion* Minister of *Cove* or *Conve*, and *De Chauveston*, Lord of *Beauvois*, Minister of *St. Martin*, Secretaries. As to the general Matters, they ratified what had been decreed in the former Synods with some small Alterations and Amendments in some of the Articles, whereto they added some new ones of no great Moment, such as these. Those who having apostatized in one Church, shall come and reside in another where their Fault is unknown, shall do Penance only before the Consistory; but if they ever go back to reside in the Place where they have offended, they shall do it publicly in the said Place. Publick Penance shall never be done by Proxy, but by the Offender himself in Person, &c. Two Books were censured, and their Authors

V. III. PART II.

Z

thors

(v) Idem Book I. Mem. de *Du Plessis Mornay*, Tom. I.

Henry III. 1581. Pope Gregory XIII. *thors* excommunicated, one the History of *France*, printed at *Rockelle*, the Author unknown; the other was written upon the first Book of *Moses*, by one *James Broccard*, or *Brocan*, a *Piemontese*, printed likewise at *Rockelle*. They passed hard Censures against Dancing and other Diversions that were then much in use amongst the Reformed in *France*, and likewise against all manner of Dressing, which carry'd with it Marks of Lasciviousness, Dissolution or excessive new-fangled Fashions, even to the excommunicating the Delinquents, who would shew themselves obstinate. Usuries were severely forbidden, as well as Books that have a Tendency to corrupt good Manners. And for avoiding for the future the notorious Contempt of Religion that was to be seen every where, even in their religious Meetings, it was enacted, that Notice should be given unto all Persons to bring with them Psalms and Common Prayer-books into the Churches, and that such as should hereafter contemptuously neglect to do it, should be severely censured; and that all reformed Printers should be advised not to separate the Prayers and Catechism from the Psalm-Books. They made several other good and wise Regulations, and ended their Sessions on the 29th of the same Month, according to *Aymon*, whereby it should seem that they had sate but two Days, which is not likely; but according to *Quick*, they began their Sessions on the 21st of *June*, and ended on the 10th of *July*.

CXLIII. I hope the Reader will freely excuse the Digression I am going to make for giving him a short Account of the Revolution that happened at this Time in *Portugal*, wherein the King of *France* found himself so far concerned, through the

A short Account of the Revolution of Portugal.

the boundless Ambition of the Queen his Mother, and whereby he afforded to *Philip II.* a fair Pretence for joining with his Enemies, and supporting them till they had compassed his Ruin. Henry III.
1581.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

King *Sebastian* having been routed by the *Moors* in the Year 1578, and having not been seen since the Battle, whether that he had been killed, or for some other Reason; Cardinal *Henry*, Archbishop of *Evora*, his great Uncle on his Father's side, succeeded him as first Prince of the Blood. It must be known that *Sebastian* was Son to Prince *John*, Son to King *John III.* who was Son to King *Emanuel*; that this *Emanuel* had had three other Sons besides King *John*, *Lewis* Duke of *Beja*, Cardinal *Henry*, and *Edward* Prince of *Portugal*; and two Daughters, *Isabella*, married to Emperor *Charles V.* Mother to *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, and *Beatrice*, Mother to *Philibert Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*; that *Lewis* Duke of *Beja* had a natural Son named *Don Anthony*, Prior of *Crato*; that *Edward* Prince of *Portugal* had two Daughters, *Mary* married to *Alexander Farnese*, first of that Name Duke of *Parma*, and Mother to *Rainuccio*, and *Catherine* married to *John* Duke of *Bragança*.

Now the Cardinal King being very infirm, and almost 70 Years old, all the Pretenders to his Crown after his Death, began to stir out and to publish their Right. Therefore without reckoning the Pope and the Abbot of *Cler-vaux*, who pretended by the Right of some old Titles and Instruments, that the Kingdom of *Portugal* paid Homage unto them, *Philip* of *Spain*, *Philibert Emanuel* of *Savoy*, *Rainuccio Farnese*, *Catherine* Wife of *John* Duke

Henry III. of *Bragança*, and *Anthony*, Prior of *Crato*, were the Candidates.

1581.
Pope Gregory XIII. The Duke of *Savoy* yielded to the King of *Spain*, because he was Son to the eldest Daughter of *Emanuel*, he desired only that his own Rights should be preserved in case *Philip* should die before him. As to *Rainuccio*, his Mother being dead, it was thought that the Dukes of *Bragança*'s Right was better than his, because he was a Degree more remote than she. So the Dispute remained between King *Philip* and the Dukes of *Bragança*. Had *Isabella* been living, she would have been excluded by *Catherine*, but she being dead, *Philip* her Son pretended that no Regard ought to be had to the Reasons that would have excluded his Mother, because he and *Catherine* being in a Degree equal, he ought to be preferred because of his Sex.

As to the Right of *Anthony*, the Cardinal King did not regard it all, because he hated him, and it was said, that his own Father, the Duke of *Beja* had declared him *illegitimate* by his last Will; nevertheless he had for him all the People, and the Monks, the *Jesuits* excepted, who fancied to themselves, that the Greatness of the House of *Austria* was the main Support of the Catholick Religion.

Now Queen *Catherine* of *Medicis* thought proper to set up likewise for a Candidate, may be, for making the World to believe, that she was of an Extraction noble enough for pretending to the Succession of a Kingdom. Her chimerical Right was built upon a Foundation as much chimerical; she pretended that *Alphonfus* III. King of *Portugal* had been married about the Year 1235, with one *Matilda*, Countess of *Boloign upon Sea*, which he had repudiated for marrying

marrying again with a younger Princess; she said that he had had a Son by that *Matilda*, named *Robert*, but that willing to favour the Children of his second Wife to the prejudice of this *Robert*, he had disinherited him; that from that *Robert* descended the Counts of *Boloign*, of whom she pretended to be descended herself. But besides that such a Narration was very injurious to all the Kings of *Portugal*, who had succeeded to *Alphonfus* III. since they could be no better than so many Bastards and Usurpers, it was utterly false in its essential Part; for *Matilda* had no Child by *Alphonfus*, and *Robert*, Count of *Boloign*, was Son to a Sister of that Queen.

Henry III.
1581.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

The best Right according to all the Jurisconsults of *Coimbra*, who ought certainly to be better acquainted with the Laws and Customs of that Country than any body else, belonged to the Dukes of *Bragança*, and the Nobility and the States of *Portugal* inclined all to her Side. But the Cardinal King was so weak that he durst not pronounce in her Behalf, and engaged himself with King *Philip*, so much the more easily that he saw that the Duke of *Bragança* was remiss; besides that his own Confessor, a Jesuit, persuaded him that the Glory of God and the Welfare of the Church required that Matters should be so.

He died thereupon on the last Day of *January*, 1580, having reigned but 17 Months. *Philip* who had every thing ready for vindicating his Right by Force of Arms, ordered immediately the Duke of *Alva* to invade the Kingdom with a strong Army. *Anthony* had been already proclaimed King, but he could not withstand him; his Troops for the most part were but Militia newly raised and undisci-

Henry III.
1581.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII

plined, they were worsted at the first Attack, and quite routed at the second ; so that having no Place upon Land left him, and being forced by contrary Winds to land again as many Times as he took Ship, at last he disguised himself and took a Monk's Habit, and remained concealed in several Places for eighth Months together ; and the *Portuguese* were so faithful unto him, that they never discovered him, tho' King *Philip* had promised eighty thousand Crowns to whomsoever should seize him. At last having found an Opportunity of making his Escape by Sea, he went into *Holland*, from whence he was invited to the Court of *France*, the Queen-Mother thinking to encrease her own Right, or rather to give them a Shadow of Reality, by uniting *Anthony's* Interest with her own. He was received with great Marks of Respect at the Court of *France*, and the King answered briskly to the *Spanish* Ambassador, who insisted upon the expelling that Prince out of the Kingdom, *FRANCE had been always a SANCTUARY for the unfortunate Princes, and God forbid that I should violate the least in the World the Sacredness of such an ASYLUM, which hath been inviolably preserved by all my Predecessors.* Such an Answer was indeed worthy of a King of *France*, but under a Prince more strenuous and magnanimous than *Henry* was. He gave Leave to the Queen his Mother to enlist Men throughout the Kingdom for supporting her Rights, and to man as many Ships as she thought proper, in which she employed the whole Year 1581.

The Duke of *Bragança* was come to an Agreement with King *Philip*, and was to enjoy the Dignity of Constable of the Kingdom,

but

but in the last Century *John* his Grandson re-
covered his Right, and was restored to the
Throne.

Henry III
1581.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII

The *Açores*, alias *Terceres* Islands, firmly adhered to *Anthony's* Party, by the means of the Monks that were in great Number and very powerful there, only the Island of *St. Michael* adhered to King *Philip*.

These Monks were grown so proud of their Power and Authority, that they turn'd every thing upside down by their Clamours and Tumults, and cast the People into Fits of Fury to no purpose. The Governour sent by *Anthony* was his Favourite *Emanuel de Sylva*, whom he had created Count of *Torres-Vedras*, a Man much more frentick and wicked than the Monks themselves; and so desperately mad that *Landereau*, who had been sent by the Queen-Mother with 800 Men till her Army should be ready, having undertook to advise him and exhort him to Moderation, he was so exasperated at it, that he suborned some Wretches to murder or poison him.

The naval Army of *France* sailed from *Belle Isle* in *June*, *Strossy* was Admiral thereof, *Brisfac* Vice-Admiral, *St. Soulene* commanded a Squadron, Don *Anthony* embarked with the Count of *Vimiofe*, the only *Portuguese* Lord who adhered to that Prince in his Misfortunes. He landed in the Island of *St. Michel*, holding for the *Spaniards*, and forced 800 Men which opposed his landing. *Noguera*, the *Spanish* Commander, who had assembled 3000 Men was routed, and *Anthony* entered the Town of *Elgade*; but instead of storming the Castle, whereby he would have been Master of the whole Island, and have Means of intercepting the *West-India* Fleet, which would have enabled

Henry III 1582. Pope Gregory XIII
 } bled him to maintain the War for two or three
 Years together, he trifled away the Time in
 hearing the vain Acclamations of an inconstant
 Rabble ; and in the mean while the naval Ar-
 my of *Spain*, under the Command of the Mar-
 quis of *St. Cross*, arrived and sheltered itself
 under the Cannon of *Elgade's* Castle, waiting for
 an Opportunity of fighting with Advantage.

The *French* Fleet was stronger as to the Num-
 ber of Ships and Men, but there was no less
 Confusion and Misunderstanding amongst them,
 than Jealousies and Quarrels, because of the
 great Number of Volunteers, and that several
 of the Captains had equipped themselves at
 their own Charge ; and that the Generals, tho'
 brave and valiant, were so neglectful, that their
 Commands were not regarded. So that on the
 Day of the Battle, which was the 26th of
July, there was scarce 12 Ships that would en-
 gage, the others refused to engage, and *St. Sou-
 lene* went away with eighteen Sail, for which he
 was tried in *France*, and degraded like a Cow-
 ard. Nevertheless the Engagement was very
 bloody, and lasted two Hours, the Ships grap-
 pling one with another. At last the Admiral of
France was surrounded and taken, *Strossy* was
 wounded at the Knee, the others took the
 Main, some sailed back to *France*, others to
Tercera Island, where *Dom Antonio* had shel-
 tered himself during the Fight.

Lo now the barbarous Pride of the *Spaniards*,
 puffed up with some Advantage ! *St. Cross*
 seeing *Strossy* wounded upon the Deck of his
 Ship, caused him to be murdered with Hal-
 berts in his own Presence, and then cast into
 the Sea ; and as to the Prisoners, to the Num-
 ber of 300, fourscore whereof were Noblemen
 or Gentlemen of Distinction, after having fol-
 lowed

lowed his Triumph in *Villafranca*, the chief Town of *St. Michael* Island, he condemned them all to Death, the Gentlemen had their Throats cut, the others were hanged, and the *French* Priest who had heard their Confession, shared the same Fate.

Henry III
1582.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII

Antonio remained in *Tercera Island*, with the Remainder of *Landereau's* Troops, and 17 *French* Ships till *October*; but then fearing lest he should be besieged there by contrary Winds during the Winter, and by the *Spanish* Fleet in the Spring, he sailed for *France*. He entertained always some Hopes of recovering the Kingdom, and attempted it in 1588 with the Help of Queen *Elizabeth*, but without Success, and from that Time he lived in *France* under King *Henry IVth's* Protection.

In the Month of *March* the Queen Mother sent the Commander *De Chates* with 800 Men to the *Açores* Islands. But the Governor *Torres-Vedras* defeated all his good Intentions by his Extravagancies, whereby he drew Destruction upon himself; for being taken by the *Spaniards*, he ended his Life by the Executioner's Hands. As to *De Chates* and his Men, the *Spaniards* spared them for this Time. (u)

1583.

All this while the King of *Navarre* endeavoured to have the late Edict executed not only in his own Government of *Guienne*, but likewise in all other Provinces beyond the River *Loire*. That could not be done without great Difficulties arising partly from the Stiffness of the civil Magistrate, who kept exactly to the Letter of the Law without considering the true Meaning thereof, and partly from the Obstinacy of the Gentlemen and others who had

CXLIV.
The King
of Na-
varre en-
deavours
to have the
late Edict
executed.

(u) Thuan. Lib. 65, 69, 70, 71, 73, 75, 78. Meze-
ray ubi supra.

Henry III. had been engaged in the former Troubles; who
 1583. thinking themselves injured by the frequent
 Pope Gre- Summons's sent unto them by the civil Magi-
 gory XIII. strate, were much offended at them, and in
 several Places strengthened their Castles, and
 put themselves in a Posture of Defence against
 the Executions of the Bailiff and other like Of-
 ficers of Justice, which could be attended but
 with very bad Consequences. But by the pru-
 dent Management of the King of *Navarre*
 and the Marshal of *Matignon*, they were for the
 most part avoided; and the said Prince seemed
 outwardly so well reconciled with the Court of
France, that it was expected to see him again
 at the *Louvre*.

*He is in- Indeed Henry insisted very much with him
 vited to upon that Subject, intreating him frequently to
 Court, but come to Court without any farther Delay;
 diverted whereto the King of Navarre would have com-
 from going. plied, had he not been diverted by Du Plessis's
 strong Remonstrances, setting forth the Danger
 he was in, either to be corrupted by bad Ex-
 amples, or scorned by the Favourites, and ob-
 liged to do Things very unbecoming of his
 high Rank and Dignity, or to be betrayed and
 overpowered by the Guise's Faction: so his
 Journey was put off till a better Opportunity(x).*

There happened at this Time the Plot of
Antwerp, which occasioned the Ruin of the
 Duke of *Anjou* in the *Low Countries*; I shall
 relate in a Series what concerns these Matters in
 the Year 1584.

CXLV. On the 15th Day of *May* the 12th national
 The 12th Synod of the Reformed Churches in *France*
 National was held at *Vitré* in *Britany* in the Castle of the
 Synod. Count of *Laval*, Mr. *Peter Merlin* Minister of
 the Place was elected Moderator, Mr. *Matthew*
Virelle

Virelle Minister of the Church of *Marchais* in Henry III. 1583.
Beauvaisis Assessor, Mr. *René Pineau* Minister of Pope Gregory XIII.
the Church of *Craon*, and Mr. *Jerome Farreau*, Elder of the Church of *Rochelle*, Secretaries. The Churches of the *Low Countries* sent their Deputies to this Synod, who sat and voted as the others, viz. *Michael Forest*, Minister of the *French Church* of *Mechlin*, Dr. *John Bolvis*, Minister of *Ghent*, and *John Haren*, Minister of *Bruges*.

As to the general Matters, the Synod took into their Consideration the Request made unto them by the Churches of the *Low Countries*, and enacted what follows.

“ Our Brethren of the *Low Countries* having required that some Course might be taken that their Deputies might for the future be present at our national Synods, and ours at theirs: This Assembly doth enact, That as often as the Synods of the said *Low Countries* shall be convened, two Provinces of this Kingdom shall be obliged to send their Deputies, viz. two Ministers and an Elder, who shall be named by those two Provinces in every national Synod, and their Charges born by all the Provinces of this Kingdom, and the Provinces of the *Isle of France* and *Normandy* have been appointed now for naming and sending Deputies, to the next Synod of the *Low Countries*. And whereas the Brethren, their Deputies have tendered unto this Synod the Confession of Faith and the Discipline followed by the said Churches of the *Low Countries*, this Assembly having humbly and heartily blessed God for that sweet Union and Agreement both in Doctrine and Discipline between the Churches of this Kingdom and these of their own Country,

“ did

Henry III. 1583. Pope Gregory XIII. “ did judge meet to subscribe them both, as
 “ our Brethren their Deputies have likewise
 “ subscribed our own Confession and Church-
 “ Discipline, thereby testifying that mutual
 “ Harmony and Concord in the Doctrine and
 “ Discipline of all the Reformed Churches in
 “ both Nations.

“ Moreover, this Assembly having, to its
 “ great Grief, understood the miserable Condi-
 “ tion of the greatest Part of the Churches in
 “ the *Low Countries* being pestered with divers
 “ Sects and Heresies, as of *David George*, Ana-
 “ baptists, Libertines and other Errors, contrary
 “ to the Purity of God’s Word, against which
 “ they cannot use those Remedies that are most
 “ desired ; and yet on the other hand, this
 “ Synod did exceedingly rejoice at the glad
 “ Tidings of their Care and Diligence in op-
 “ posing and refuting those anti-scriptural He-
 “ resies, subversive of divine Doctrine, Order,
 “ and Discipline ; and they did most earnestly
 “ intreat them to persevere in the Confutation
 “ and Condemnation of them, as they will
 “ also on their behalf cordially join with them in
 “ so doing, and will give, as they do now give,
 “ an unquestionable Proof thereof, by subscrib-
 “ ing unto their Confession of Faith and Church-
 “ Discipline.

“ And forasmuch as this holy Union and
 “ Concord, established between the Churches of
 “ *France* and those of the *Low Countries*, seems
 “ necessarily to require their mutual Love and
 “ Assistance : This Assembly thinks proper,
 “ that the Churches of both these Nations
 “ shall help reciprocally one another with their
 “ Ministers and other things, according as their
 “ respective Necessities and Means shall require
 “ and enable them.

“ The

“ THE CASE of a leprous Wife being examin- Henry III.
 “ ed, it was decided, that her Husband could ^{1583.}
 “ not marry with another during her Life ; but ^{Pope Gre-}
 “ that he ought to *pray* and *fast*, and contain ^{gory XIII}
 “ himself, and give her all possible Assistance
 “ and Relief.

“ The Liturgy for Baptism shall not be
 “ forborn at the Baptism of Infants, born in
 “ Adultery, Fornication or Incest ; tho’ it is ex-
 “ pressly declared therein, *that they are begotten*
 “ *of Father and Mother, whom God has called*
 “ *into his Church* : Because, that under the
 “ Name of Father and Mother are not com-
 “ prized, only those who begat them, but also
 “ their Ancestors to a thousand Generations.

I don’t know how the judicious Reader
 will relish the 8th Article of the general
 Matters, concerning Promises of Marriage.
 It runs thus : “ The 4th Article in the Chapter
 “ of Marriages asserting, that Promises of Mar-
 “ riage made by Words in the present Tense, are
 “ indissolvable, shall not be changed ; and in
 “ case of any Offence taken by one of the Parties
 “ thus betrothed, and that he or she refuse to
 “ perform upon that account the said Marriage,
 “ the refusing Person shall be constrained to it
 “ by ecclesiastical Censures, and even by Ex-
 “ communication, unless the offending Person
 “ hath never communicated at the Lord’s Table ;
 “ in which case all Admonitions being given
 “ duly in the Consistory, his or her Obstinacy
 “ shall be on three several Lord’s Days pub-
 “ lickly declared and signified unto the People ;
 “ and on the fourth, they shall be publickly
 “ informed, that we don’t repute such a Person
 “ by Name as Member of the Church. This be-
 “ ing done, if the refusing Person still persists
 “ in his Obstinacy, the other Party shall be
 “ sent

Henry III. " sent to the Magistrate, that he may be set at
 1583 " liberty; and having obtained it. the said Per-
 Pope Gre- " son may marry whom he pleaseth, and his
 gory XIII. " Marriage shall be publickly solemnized in the
 " Church. *But the refusing Party shall not be*
 " *received to the Communion-Table, nor allowed*
 " *to marry any other, until by a long Space of*
 " *time he hath given sufficient proof of his*
 " *Repentance, and given due Satisfaction to the*
 " *Church.*

" N. B. That all these Censures were passed
 " against, and these Penalties inflicted on Per-
 " sons who were not married as yet, but only
 " betrothed, and who took a disgust against
 " their Bride or Bridegroom, either for real or
 " imaginary Causes.

" Bastards were to be entered in the Register-
 " Book of the Church. Those only who were
 " born in Incest excepted.

" Baptism was to be administer'd before the
 " last Psalm was sung.

" It was resolved, that a Seal should be
 " made for the Use of the National Synods,
 " that all Letters of Moment written in their
 " Name might be sealed with it; and that Seal
 " was constantly to be sent unto that Province
 " wherein the next Synod was to be celebrated.
 " There was engraven upon it a *burning Bush*, in
 " the midst whereof was written the *Hebrew*
 " Word JEHOVAH, and round the Circle,
 " FLAGRO, NON CONSUMOR, *I burn, but am*
 " *not consumed.*

" Several Amendments and Additions were
 " made to the Articles of the Church-Discipline.

" As to the particular Matters, the Deposition of several Ministers Apostate or otherwise scandalous, was confirmed and ratified.

" The

“ The Marriage of a Widow who had been ^{Henry III.}
 “ betrothed before to another by Words of the ^{1583.}
 “ present Tense, was declared void and null; ^{Pope Gre-}
 “ however whereas she had had a Child since her ^{gory XIII.}
 “ Marriage, which had been baptized in the
 “ Reformed Church, the Consistory might ap-
 “ prove and confirm the second Marriage, pro-
 “ vided that her former Bridegroom should de-
 “ clare that he did repudiate and reject the said
 “ Woman.

“ The Sentence passed by the Provincial Sy-
 “ nod of *Angoumois* against Mr. *De la Croix*,
 “ Minister of *Jarnac*, for exercising Physick
 “ together with the Ministry, was ratified by
 “ the present Synod; and the said *De la Croix*
 “ strictly admonished to adhere wholly to his
 “ Ministry, and not to practise Physick for
 “ Lucre-sake.

“ The Lord *Du Plessis Mornay* being come
 “ to this Synod, demanding from his Majesty
 “ the King of *Navarre*, that some Deputies,
 “ Persons of Quality and Understanding, should
 “ be sent unto him, and be near his Person to
 “ inform him of the true State of the Churches;
 “ and that he might also impart by their means
 “ to the Churches, all Matters of Importance
 “ tending to their Welfare and Preservation:
 “ All the Churches were exhorted by this Sy-
 “ nod to comply with his Majesty's Demands,
 “ and to name accordingly two or three De-
 “ puties; and the Province of the *Isle of France*
 “ was to see it done without delay.

“ A Motion being made for an Union and
 “ Agreement between the Churches of *Germa-*
 “ *ny* and those of *France*, it was ordered that
 “ Mr. *de Chandieu*, Minister of *Paris*, should
 “ be desired to undertake a Journey into *Ger-*
 “ *many* for that purpose; but if he had good
 “ Reasons

Henry III. " Reasons for declining the Charge, Mr. *de Seire*
 1583. " should be intreated to supply his Place.

Pope Gre- " Mr. *Salnar*, others read *Halnar*, and others
 gory XIII. " *Saluart*, Minister of *Castres*, Author of *Har-*
 monia *Confessionum*, was intreated to write in
 " the Name of this Synod to the Princes and
 " Divines of *Germany*, and to confer with the
 " Lord *Du Plessis* about the Subject Matter of
 " his Letters; which said Letters were to be
 " sent to Mr. *de Chandieu*, to be presented by
 " him.

" A Roman-Catholick having espoused his
 " deceased Wife's Niece of the same Religion,
 " and had several Children together, they hav-
 " ing embraced the Reform'd Religion, their
 " Marriage was declared incestuous by this pre-
 " sent Synod, and not to be tolerated; there-
 " fore lest they should provoke the Wrath of
 " God more heavily against them, they ought to
 " separate one from the other.

" But whereas they had committed this Sin
 " in the time of their Ignorance, it was or-
 " dered that they should confess it privately
 " unto the Consistory, where they would be ad-
 " monished, counselled and comforted by the
 " Word of God."

They made several other Regulations, and de-
 cided several other Points, which I forbear
 to mention for Brevity sake. Their Sessions end-
 ed on the 27th of May (y).

CXLVI. That Union betwixt all the Protestant and
The King of Navarre Reformed of *Europe*, mentioned in one of the
negociates an Association with the Protest- above-said Articles of that Synod was very ne-
tant Prin- cessary, especially at this time that the HOLY
ces of Eu- LEAGUE against the Reformed and the Pro-
rope. testants was growing every day stronger, by
 (y) Quick Synodicon. Aymon Synod. Nat. Tom I.

the Accession of the most powerful Princes of the *Roman Communion*. The King of *Navarre*, by the Advice especially of *Du Plessis*, neglected nothing in order to form such an Union. For that purpose the said *Du Plessis*, by his said Majesty's Orders, sent a Memorial to my Lord *Walsingham*, Secretary of State in *England*, to be shewed to Queen *Elizabeth*; to engage that Princess to enter into that Alliance, whereof she should be the Head. He sets forth in a very lively manner the great Advantages her Majesty should reap therefrom, opposing the Alliances she could make with more powerful Princes than herself, or even equal to herself, with that she could make with her Inferiors as to Power. In the first case, who is allied to an Equal, and much more to a Superior, loses his Liberty and his Advantage; because he who hath a Companion, hath a Master, and the Greatest makes always the Affairs of his Inferior subservient to his own. This he proves by several Instances. But he who is allied with a weaker than himself, becomes Half-master of his Faculties and Strength; and indeed *France* never had more useful Alliance, and more ready at hand, than that of the *Switzers*.

Besides that an Alliance of a Protestant Power with a Prince of the Catholick Religion, cannot be very sincere, nor of a very long continuance; because the Interests of their Religion are quite contrary to those of the other Party, as Experience shews it.

Then he answers to an Objection that could be made, and which is drawn from the Situation of *England*, and he owns that it is not an easy matter to conquer it; but then it must be owned, that it is very easy to raise Commotions in it. He quotes for an Instance the late Proposi-

Henry III. tion of Marriage between Queen *Elizabeth* and
 1583. the Duke of *Anjou*, very pleasing to some, but
 Pope Gre- odious to others; which divided the Kingdom
 gory XIII. in Parties, and put the Court and the Council
 in a Combustion.

From all these Considerations he infers, that the Queen of *England*, besides the Order she might put to the Affairs at home, could strengthen herself with Alliances abroad more sincere and lasting, than those she had had till then. And he mentions the Alliance with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, who were already leagued together for assisting the Elector of *Cologne*, who had turned Protestant; and insinuates, that a Treaty might be concluded with that League already formed, which would be much better than to treat with each Prince apart. No doubt, but they will accept of the Protection of *England*, to oppose it to the House of *Austria*; by that means they will be enabled to make a King of the *Romans* out of another House than that of *Austria*, which otherwise will enslave all *Christendom*, because King *Philip* hath but a Son, a weak and sickly Prince, which if he should die unmarried, the *Emperor* will reunite the Authority of the *Empire*, together with the Power of *Spain*, in virtue of his Marriage with the Infanta of *Spain*.

Moreover, her Majesty will be assisted in case of Need with all the Protestant Forces of *Germany*, from whence she might have a strong Army of *Reisters* at her Devotion, to be sent whenever and wherever she shall think proper: For which purpose it would be requisite that she should deposite a round Sum of Money in some City of *Germany*, whereby her Friends shall be encouraged, and her Enemies kept in awe. Such an Alliance will be no sooner concluded,

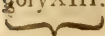
cluded, but several Princes and neighbouring States will be glad to enter into it; every one being drawn into it by his own private Interest: The general Disposition of all Christendom being such, that nothing more is wanting but some eminent Prince to give the Signal to others, who will be ready to join their Forces together, to prevent their utter Ruin and restore the Balance in *Europe*.

Henry III.
1583.
Pope Gregory XIII.

He approves much of the Alliance her Majesty has lately concluded with *Scotland*; but then he desires, that she would be pleased to consider that the Prince of that Country is of Age to be married; that all the Parties then offered, were not fortably with the Interest of *England*; therefore it would be very prudently done, to provide that he should marry in a House that stood well affected to *England*; and he recommends *Catherine*, Sister to the King of *Navarre*, (a Princess every way qualified for such a Match, as he expresses himself elsewhere).

He adds, that as long as the *Reformed Party* shall be able to subsist in *France*, and in the *Low Countries*, the Kings of *France* and *Spain* will not be able to do her Majesty much harm: therefore her own Interest obliges her to support them mightily.

He shews forth, that had her Majesty supported those of the *Low Countries* at the very beginning of their Troubles, they would not have been reduced to that sad Crisis wherein she saw them now, to her great Grief. He bitterly complains afterwards of the bad Usage the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé*, and the whole *Reformed Party* in *France*, had received of her Majesty since the Year 1570, having been wholly forsaken by her: for as to the Money

Henry III. she lent in 1576, it was for the Duke of *Anjou's*
 1583. own Use. And he insists, that her Majesty was
Pope Gre- so far concerned in their Preservation, that
gory XIII.  *EVEN she ought not to bear without Jealousy that*
they should support themselves without her Con-
currence.

To this he added a View of the King of *Navarre*, and of his Party's State and Condition, and shews forth, that as to that Prince's Religion, tho' it may prove an Obstacle to the forwarding of his Interest amongst the People, nevertheless the wisest sort do acknowledge, that a Prince sincerely adhering to one Religion, is better than one who has none at all; and that such is the present State of the Kingdom, that Peace can never be well settled without tolerating the Reformed. And no doubt, says he, but many notable Persons would adhere to the King of *Navarre's* Religion and Party, should they see him so well supported abroad as he is well settled at home, being vastly tired with the Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*, and the Corruption of the present *Government*.

In the Picture he draws of the said Prince, he says, that besides the Comeliness of his Face, the good Proportion of his Body, his strong Constitution, his majestick Mien, &c. he was endowed with a vast Quickness of Spirit; a Magnanimity almost unparallelled. It is the Substance, says he, whercof the greatest Heroes have been made; he has undergone several hard Trials, and overcome several dangerous Encounters; he has gloriously finished many intricate Treaties, and been always employed in the most important Affairs either of Peace or War. By such Exercises, a great Prince is fashioned and perfected. Moreover, for some Years past, he is used to consult the best and wisest

wisest Men in the Kingdom, which he hath call'd near his Person: So that every one is in a great Expectation that God will perform mighty things in our Age by him and for him.

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Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

He says, that indeed he had been a great Sufferer, as to his Hereditary Dominions and Estates, thro' the imprudent Management of his Predecessors and the Civil Wars; however he enjoyed still three hundred thousand Crowns yearly Rent, and discharged every Day his Debts thro' the Diligence and Care of his Servants, and that his Household was then splendid and in good order.

The said Estates consisted partly in Sovereignities, and partly not. He held in Sovereignty that part of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, called *Low Navarre*, the Country of the *Basques*, and of *Donnezan*; Item the Principality of *Bearn*, a large populous and fruitful Country, wherein the Cities of *Oleron*, *Pau*, *Lescar*, *Orthez*, *Navarreins* a strong Place, provided with an Arsenal well stored of all sorts of Ammunition, and several other Towns are situated. These Countries may bring into the Field at any time three hundred Gentlemen and six thousand Harquebusiers well armed. At *Orthez* there is an University, wherein the King of *Navarre* keeps fifty Students in Divinity, each for ten Years at his own Charge.

As Homager to the King of *France* the said Prince holds the County of *Foix*, which is of a large Extent, and wherein are situated amongst others the Towns of *Foix*, *Pamiers*, *Mazeres*, *Saverdun*, *Madazil*, all strong Places, fortified by Art and Nature; most part of the Inhabitants are Reformed, and may bring into the Field six thousand Harquebusiers.

Henry III. 1583. Pope Gregory XIII. *Item*, the County of *Bigorre*, the Capital whereof is *Tarbe*; the Viscounty of *Marsan*, wherein the *Mount of Marsan*, *Roquefort*, *Ville-neuve*, &c. are situated. *Item*, the Duchy of *Albret*, wherein *Albret*, *Nerac*, *Castel-jaloux*, *Tartas*, and several other good Towns are situated.

Item, the County of *Armagnac*, Upper and Lower, which contains eighteen hundred Fees-Noble; and wherein the Cities of *Auch*, *Condom*, *Leitoure*, and many others are situated. *Item*, the County of *Rouërgue*, of a vast Extent; and contains among others, *Rhodesz*, *Millau*, *Vabres*. *Item*, the County of *Perigord*, the Viscounty of *Limosine*, many Cities and Castles whereof are Subjects and Dependants of the King of *Navarre*, and all the Gentry are hereditarily his Vassals. In short, few Cities excepted, he holds whatever lies between *Spain* and the *Dordogne*, from *South* to *North*; and between the *Ocean* and the *Languedoc* and *Auvergne*, *West* to *East*, a District of about one hundred and twenty Leagues, much peopled with Nobility: And those who have read the History of *France* and *England*, especially *FROISSART*, know very well what were a Count of *Foix* or of *Armagnac*, a Duke of *Albret*, in the times of King *EDWARD III.* If they were so powerful in those Days, when these Countries were not so well manured and so rich, how powerful must be a Prince who possesses them all in the prosperous Condition they are in now?

The abovesaid Provinces are likewise under the King of *Navarre's* immediate Jurisdiction, as Governor and Lieutenant-General for the King in *Guienne*. Besides these Countries in the *South* of *France*, the said Prince hath also very large Estates beyond the *Loire* (*Du Plessis was*
at

at NERAC when he wrote this) such as the *Duchy of Vendôme* is; that of *Beaumont*, the *County of Marle*, the *Viscounty of Chateauneuf*, and the *Country of Thumerais*, &c. wherein most part of the Nobility profess the Reformed Religion, and stand very well affected for the said Prince. I don't mention here his great Pretensions, nor his great Estates in the *Low Countries*.

Henry III
1583.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

All his Estates and Demesnes are under the Direction of four Chambers, settled one at *Pau* in *Bearn*, another at *Nerac*, a third at *Vendôme*, and the last at *la Fere*; and whereas all these Demesnes are situated under the Jurisdiction of three several Parliaments, viz. *Paris*, *Thoulouse*, and *Bordeaux*; he keeps a Council at his own Charge in each of these Courts, wherein one of the chief Counsellors thereof presides.

As Chief and Protector of the Reformed in *France*, the said Prince is supported by several Lords, Gentlemen, Captains, Provinces, Cities, and Commonalties of the Kingdom, whose Courage, Forces and Means, increase every Day. Besides, several strong Places belonging to the King, which are situated in the Hereditary Countries of the King of *Navarre*, such as *Bazas* an Episcopal City, *Puymirol*, *Montsegur*, *Le Mas de Verdun*, *Caumont* upon the *Garonne*, and several others which have always sided with his *Navarrese Majesty*; going towards the *East*, there is the Country of *Quercy*, containing four Castlewards, *Cabors*, *Montauban*, *Figeac*, and *Lauzerte*; *Figeac* and *Montauban* are wholly in the Reformed's hands; as to *Lauzerte*, it is common both to the Reformed and to the Catholics; *Cabors* was restored to the King of *France* by the last Treaty. Under these four

Henry III. 1583. Castlewards there are several small Towns professing the Reformed Religion, and siding with the same Party, such as *Caussade, Realmont, St. Antonin, &c.* On one side there is the Country of *Lauragais*, siding with the Reformed; *Puylaurens* is the Capital thereof, the *Woad* a Plant, grows in that Country. On the other side there is the *Albigeois*, *Castres* is the chief City, a great and well fortified Place; and on another side the Country of *Foix*, and *Rouërgue*. All these Countries are so situated that they may by the Help of a little Diversion join their Forces together with those of the Churches of *Languedoc, Dauphiné, and Provence.*

In *Lower Languedoc*, the Reformed hold *Nimes* and its *Seneschallship*, *Montpellier*, the Seat of a Chamber of *Accounts*; *Aiguemortes* with its *Salt-Ponds*, *Uzez, Alez, Alais, Lunel, Aimargues, Marfillargues, Bagnols, Sommieres*, and several others. Furthermore, the Country of *Cevennes*, the *Vivaraïs*, the *Vellay*, the *Givaudan, &c.* wherein several opulent Cities are situated, strongly fortified even by Nature; and which being now strictly united with the Duke of *Montmorancy*, Governor of *Languedoc*, who finds his own account in that Union, they may be sure of having the whole Province for them, which is the richest of the whole Kingdom, two or three Places excepted; for the said Duke has in his own power *Beaucaire* upon the *Rhofne*, the *Seneschallship* of *Beziers, Pezenas, Carcassonne, Agde, Leucalke*, and several other Places of great repute, in the *Upper and Lower Languedoc*. That Province might bring into the Field six thousand *Harquebusiers*, besides the *Garisons* for all its Cities, Towns, Castles, and Strongholds; this is to be understood only of the Reformed, without reckoning the *Catholicks*. The

Lord

Lord of *Chatillon*, with *d'Andelot* his Brother, Henry III. Sons to the late Admiral, have the Direction of the Affairs of the Reformed in that Province. 1583. Pope Gregory XIII.

In *Provence* the Reformed increase a-pace, at *Arles* and *Aix*, even at *Marseilles*, where there was not a single Reformed four Years ago, now there is more than two hundred Families of the said Religion. In that Province many Cities held secretly for the King of *Navarre*, though there is but one that could declare itself openly and with the King's Approbation by the Edict of 1577, viz. *Seine la Grand Tour*. The Barons of *Rieux* and *Allemagne*, have the Direction of Affairs in that Country.

In *Dauphiné*, the Reformed Interest had much declined in the last War, because they were destitute of all Assistance, and were obliged to trust themselves upon the Duke of *Mayenne's* Honour, whereof they have had good Reason to repent; but since that time their Divisions and Jealousies have ceased, thro' the prudent Management of the Lords *Les Diguieres*, *Gouvernet*, *Blascons*, *Morges*, *Mirabel*, and several others. There is in that Province above four hundred Lords and Gentlemen of the Reformed Religion, ready to take the Field on horseback at any Emergency; and all their Places being well provided with Garisons, they may bring four thousand Harquebusiers into the Field. *Nions* and *Serres*, *Upper* and *Lower*, are the Cautionary Towns granted by the Edict; besides which, several other Places support the Reformed Party, tho' secretly. The Principality of *Orange* lies in the Neighbourhood, and has always sided with them.

So that from the *Pyrenean* to the *Alps*, that is, from *West* to *East* of the Kingdom, a Traveller will find at every three Leagues some Place

Henry III. Place or other holding for the Reformed Party, and which are either of the Patrimony or under the Protection of the King of Navarre; and ^{1583.} Pope Gregory XIII. *Aiguemortes* being at their Devotion, they may fit out a Number of Frigates and Galleys for annoying the Trade of the *Mediterranean*.

From *South* to *North*, besides the King of Navarre's Patrimony, there lies the Country called *Between the two Seas*, between the Rivers *Garonne* and *Dordogne*; the Inhabitants whereof are Reformed, very few excepted, which in four Days time have sent four thousand Harquebusiers into the Field in the last War. Beyond that Country are the Provinces of *Angoumois*, *Xaintonge*, *Poitou*, and the Country of *Aulnix*, which can afford five hundred Gentlemen on horseback, and six thousand Harquebusiers, all Reformed. These Provinces are chiefly under the Prince of Condé's Direction: Besides several small Towns and Castles, they held *Pons*, *St. John of Angely*, where the Prince resides, and *La Rochelle*, which is governed by its Mayor and Sheriffs. Through these Countries one may travel from the *Pyreneans* to *Britanny*, as from *West* to *East*.

True it is, that beyond the *Loire* (that is to be understood in regard to the Situation of *Nerac*, where *Du Plessis* was when he wrote this) the King of Navarre's Party is not so apparent; nevertheless there is not a single Province in that *Northern Part* of the Kingdom, without a good Number of Nobility and Gentry of the Reformed Religion: Such as the Viscount of *Rohan*, the Count of *Laval*, the Lord of *Rieux* his Brother, the Marquis of *Garlande*, the Count of *Montgomery*, &c. &c. Besides a vast Number of People of all Ranks ready to embrace the Reformed Religion and Party, whenever they may

may do it with safety ; but since *Bartholomew's* Henry III. 1583. Pope Gregory XIII. Day they have found no other Security but in the Armies which they could join but with great Difficulty, unless when they came from *Germany*. But for all that, they have a certain Order settled amongst themselves, and in every Place there is some Gentleman or other who hath the Direction of their Affairs, and who in the occasion would be obeyed by the others. They are now so much the better affected for the King of *Navarre*, that many of them have seen themselves frustrated of all the Hopes they had conceived of the Duke of *Anjou*, who hath intirely forsaken them.

That Party composed of the King of *Navarre's* Interest, and the Reformed Churches united together for their common Preservation and Welfare, is so solid and strong, that the whole Power of *France*, and even a greater one, is not capable to ruin it without ruining themselves ; and indeed we have seen that notwithstanding all their Efforts, it has recovered itself of all its Losses ; nay the very *Bartholomew's* Day Massacre, that dreadful and seemingly deciding Stroke, hath not at all answered the Expectations of our Enemies : for, tho' since that Day we have received but very little Assistance from abroad, we have been able to withstand the Forces of *France* united with part of those of *Germany*, *Switzerland* and *Italy*.

But notwithstanding all these Advantages, that Party lies under this great Inconvenience, viz. that they can't keep the Field long against such a Power, and that they are obliged to put themselves upon the Defensive the very first Day, which is very hard. That same Party, for want of a good Army for receiving and rallying its Forces dispersed in the several Provinces, hath

Henry III. hath been always weakened by the former Wars, tho' not without great Losses on their Enemies side; so in the Year 1577, they lost *La Charité*, *Issoire* and *Brouage*; in the last War of 1580 they lost *La Fere* and *La Mure*, besides some small Places of little Importance in *Gascony*. And they have been obliged to yield many Advantages they were in possession of by the last Treaty of Peace. It is certain, that in a War *whoever can do nothing more than defend himself, is always a Loser.*

1583.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

These are the Inconveniences which the King of *Navarre* has been exposed to, for want of a good Army of Foreigners, that could put him in a condition of offending as well as of defending himself. For which Reason he chuses rather to surrender the *Cautionary Towns*, tho' still necessary to his own and the Reformed's Preservation, than to renew a War only defensive, *that is*, purely passive for want of such an Army, tho' he is very sensible of all the Inconveniences that may attend such a Step; but in surrendring the said Places he loses nothing else, whereas by defending them without Hopes of Relief, he hazards to lose his Troops with them. Moreover, if it happens that a single one should be taken by Storm, he may possibly lose many others thro' the Consternation of the Inhabitants.

These *Cautionary Towns* are to be surrender'd in September next; but the most prudent among the Reformed find themselves in great perplexity upon that account. They have been given by the King as a Provision against the general Distrust; but the Reasons of Distrust are still the same now as they were when granted at first, because the last Edict is not executed in a single Point: for of all the Grievances which
have

have been complain'd of, not one has been redress'd, because of the Perfidiousness and Treacheries used against the Reformed; lastly, because of the Preparations and Levies of Troops in *Switzerland* and *Germany*, the Ammunitions gather'd at *Lyons* to send them down the *Rhône*, and the Troops that are sent daily into *Gascony*. So then since the Causes and Reasons of Distrust do subsist still, and even are increased, the Reasons for keeping those Places do also subsist still.

Henry III.
1583.
Pope Gregory XIII.

But, as by surrendring them we do divest ourselves, and by divesting our selves we do tempt our Enemies to forward our Ruin; so by not surrendring them we draw upon our selves their whole Forces which are all ready, and by refusing to surrender three or four we hazard to lose a great Number of others.

Now if we could be sure to have a strong Army of *Réislers* in the Kingdom, able to keep the Field, and divert our Enemies from attacking us in the Center of our Provinces, we might delay the Surrender of those Places, and perhaps our Enemies would hearken to Reason when they would see us strongly supported. The King of *Navarre* will spare nothing for that end, but indeed his Majesty is tired with the Burden all alone; and it is high time that those in whose Behalf he bears it in great part, should assist him, unless they would see themselves one Day to bear their and his own together.

If his Majesty hath no better Prospect of a speedy Relief for the future than he hath had heretofore, he will endeavour by the Advice of the Reform'd Churches to satisfy the King of *France*, he will trust to God for the Issue of the Surrendring of the said Places, he will try all mild ways, how dangerous soever, to assuage the bad

Henry III. bad Temper of his Enemies, he will like *Sam-son* seek Honey in the Lion's Throat, if he sees himself forsaken by those for the Preservation whereof he don't labour less than for his own, and who ought to be no less concerned in his than in their own (z).

1583.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

I shall not insist any further upon that Memoir (which gives us so true and so clear an Insight into the King of *Navarre* and the Reformed of *France's* Affairs) than for making the Reader observe what a great Number of Reformed there was in that Kingdom in the Year 1583, comprising the Hereditary Countries of the King of *Navarre*. According to the most illustrious Author, the Sovereignities of the said King, the County of *Foix*, *Low Languedoc*, *Dauphiné*, the Country between the two Seas, *Angoumois*, *Xaintonge*, *Poitou*, and *Aulnix*, could bring together into the Field thirty-three thousand and six hundred Men, Horse and Foot. N. B. First, That he don't mention what could be drawn out from *Guienne* and *Upper Languedoc*, from the County of *Bigorre*, the Duchy of *Albret*, the Viscounty of *Marsan*, the County of *Armagnac*, that of *Rouërgue*, that of *Perigord*, the *Limo-sine*, and part of *Auvergne*, and from *Provence*; neither doth he reckon those who inhabited the Provinces on this side the *Loire*, in regard to *London*, where I write this; *Britanny*, *Normandy*, *Picardy*, *Isle of France*, *Champaign*, *Burgundy*, *Lyonnese*, and part of *Orleannese*, where the Reformed were certainly in great Number. Now I don't think I magnify at all, if I say that these Provinces and Countries, whereof he hath not reckoned the Number of Men they could bring into the Field, could afford as many as those which he hath reckoned: So these two
Numbers

Numbers put together, will make up sixty-seven ^{Henry III.} thousand and two hundred Men. Secondly, He ^{1583.} says expressly, that he does not reckon the Ga- ^{Pope Gre-} risons in that Number: Now, suppose that in ^{gory XIII.} all the Provinces on t'other side of the *Loire* there was an hundred Places of the Reformed garisoned in time of War, and allow two hundred Men for each Place one with another, that will make twenty thousand Men more. So there was of the Reformed Party in *France*, and in the Hereditary Countries of the King of *Navarre*, in 1583, eighty-seven thousand and two hundred Men, not only able to bear Arms, but willing and ready to take them at the first warning: but we must consider that all these Troops were for the most part Volunteers, *that is*, they inlisted of their own accord, and could not be forced, few excepted, to march. Therefore we may reasonably suppose that if all the Reformed that were able to serve in the War had been likewise willing to take that Party, that additional Number would have amounted at least to thirty thousand, which added to the former would have made up the Number of one hundred seventeen thousand and two hundred Men. Now, if we allow that the Number of old Men, Women, Children, Servants, Ploughmen, Tradesmen, Clergymen, Lawyers, &c. was but twelve to one, then the Total of the Reformed in *France* in 1583, will amount to one million four hundred and six thousand and four hundred Souls, after so many ruinous Wars, so many bloody Battles, so many barbarous Massacres, so many dreadful Executions of them, for the Space only of twenty-one Years; and sure I am, that I don't magnify the Object.

That

Henry III. That Memorial, whereof I have just given an
 1583. Abstract, was sent to my Lord *Walsingham*, to
 Pope Gre- be presented by him to the Queen of *England*.
 gory XIII.

CXLVII. Besides that, Mr. *de Segur*, Superintendant of
De Segur the King of *Navarre's* Household, was sent in
is sent for the Month of July to the said Queen, the King
that pur- of *Denmark*, the States of the *Low Countries*,
pose. and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, to sol-
 licit a League between all the Protestant and Re-

His In-
structions.

formed Powers of *Europe*; whereof the Queen
 of *England* should be the Head as abovesaid.
 He was to shew forth to that Princess the State
 and Condition of *France*; especially of the Re-
 formed in that Kingdom, which was peaceful,
 and might continue so in all likelihood, provid-
 ed they would connive at the Mischiefs and Evils
 that were preparing against all Christendom,
 and consequently against them. But they did
 perceive easily, that the Designs of the Pope
 and the Princes his Adherents tending to their
 utter Extirpation, were never so near being exe-
 cuted as now, *Humanly speaking*. Therefore
 they thought themselves in Duty and Conscience
 bound to remonstrate to every one to whom it
 belonged, that *Dum singuli pugnamus, vincimur*,
 WHILE WE FIGHT SEPARATELY, WE ARE
 VANQUISHED.

Then he was to insist upon the Reasons above-
 mentioned in the Memorial, to undeceive her
 Majesty about the Notions she entertained of
 her Alliance with FRANCE and SPAIN, and
 to make her sensible of the great Advantages she
 would reap by the proposed Alliance.

There was a Difficulty arising from the Stiff-
 ness of the *Lutheran* Divines, their Intolerancy
 was such that they refused to keep Commu-
 nion with the Reformed, especially the *Calvi-*
nists, in *Denmark* and *Saxony*; but these wise

Expedients was proposed first to submit the controverted Points to the Decision of a general Council of all the Reformed Churches in Europe, to be assembled when a solid Peace shall be settled: Secondly, that in the mean while they should live together like Brethren and Friends; and that they should be expressly forbidden till that time, to speak or to write upon those controverted Points.

Henry III.
1583.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

The King of *Denmark* has already done great Services in that Cause, and has prevailed with the Elector of *Saxony* his Brother-in-Law, to be more moderate towards the Calvinists, and to countenance less certain Divines that were the Incendiaries of *Germany*. But the Queen of *England's* Authority will be of great weight with him, and there is no doubt but that he will enter into that Alliance as soon as he shall be certain that her Majesty declares herself the Head thereof, being well informed of the Plots which the *Jesuits* contrive against him, with the King of *Swedeland*, and other neighbouring Powers.

Moreover, the said Envoy was to desire her Majesty to send some Person of the best Quality Embassador to the King of *Denmark* and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, to negotiate those two Affairs, viz. the Reconciliation of the Calvinist Churches with the Lutherans, and a general League between all the Protestant and Reformed Powers; whereof she must be the Head, to oppose the wicked Designs of the Pope and his Adherents.

When the more potent Princes of *Germany* shall have entered into that Association, it will be an easy matter to bring the *Imperial Cities* into it. The *Switzers* and their Allies will accede, because the Pope hath endeavoured to dis-

Henry III. unite them by the means of his *Nuncio*. And
 1583. the King of *Navarre*, with the whole Body of
Pope Gre- the Reformed Churches in *France*, will certainly
gory XIII accede into it upon such terms as shall be thought
 meet, being resolved to spare neither Goods nor
 Life for the Defence of Religion and the main-
 taining of the COMMON CAUSE. The *Low*
Countries would be likewise very glad to be ad-
 mitted into it, being now in such great Per-
 plexity; (it was a few Months after the Duke of
Anjou's wicked and treacherous Attempt upon
Antwerp,) and indeed the Queen of *England*
 is obliged in good Policy to protect them as
 the Bulwarks of her own Kingdom, having no
 less reason for so doing, than *Germany* hath for
 keeping and protecting *Hungary* against the
Turk.

That League, which shall be composed of
 the most warlike Nations of all *Christendom*,
 will prove much stronger than the Catholick
 League; and much more so, because they will
 all aim at the same End, *viz.* their common
 Defence and Preservation, and shall have no
 Pretension one against another. Whereas the
 Kings of *France* and *Spain* and their Confe-
 derates, have several old Quarrels to decide, and
 endeavour always to encroach upon the State
 and Honour one of another; and being or
 thinking themselves far from all danger, they
 cannot bear one with another.

As to the necessary Foundation for supporting
 that League, each Party ought to assess itself ac-
 cording to its Power and Abilities; or else we
 must follow what was done in the time of *Henry*
VIII. when he treated of a League with the
 Protestant Princes, he offered to pay as much
 for himself as two of the richest Electors of the
Empire could do for themselves. It is to be ob-
 served,

served, that nothing can forward better the Conclusion of this Treaty, than if the Queen will deposite in *Germany* two or three hundred thousand Crowns, to be ready at any Emergency for the Defence of the COMMON CAUSE. The King of *Navarre* has set up himself for a Pattern ; for tho' he is not as yet straitned by any Evil, nevertheless he hath been willing to transmit into *Germany* a round Sum of Money, with several Jewels of great Value, to begin to make the common Cash.

Henry III.
1583.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII

The Instructions given to the said Envoy for the Court of *Denmark* and the *Low-Countries*, were almost to the same effect, altering what is to be altered ; those for the Protestant Princes and States of *Germany*, are more particular upon the Articles of the Holy Supper controverted between the *Calvinists* and the *Lutherans* ; he complains himself of the great Heats and Animosities of the last against the first, which Heats and Divisions gave a great Offence to the Church of God, exposed Religion to the Scorn of profane Men, and put a stop to the Progress of the Reformation.

Nevertheless every sober and considerate Man was sensible, that there was no Difference between the two Parties, as to the fundamental Points of the Christian Doctrine, such as the free Forgiveness of Sins obtained thro' the Death of *Jesus Christ*, the eternal Son of God, the true and only Mediator between God and Man, for every one who truly and sincerely believes in him. Moreover, we oppose with the very same Arguments the Cheats and Errors introduced into the Church by the *Pope* and his Adherents : *NAY*, we agree as to the Point of the Holy Supper, (which is the main Subject of our Controversy) in what concerns the Substance of that Sacra-

Henry III 1583. Pope Gregory XIII. ment, every body owning that he receives truly in it the Body of Christ; we differ only as to the manner *HOW* the Body of Christ is present in that Sacrament. And is it not an intolerable thing, that while we seek after the Manner, we keep no bounds but exceed all Manners?

The Catholicks have been much more prudent than we, for before the Reformation they were exceedingly divided among themselves upon that very same Point; and we reckon ten or twelve several Opinions about it amongst the Schoolmen, all different one from another, and even some of them contradictory; the Heats and Animosities could not be carried any further than they were then one against another. Nevertheless, at the first Beginning of the Reformation they found means to suppress their own Quarrel, to the end that they might unite their Strength together and persecute us with greater Advantage; and is it possible that we should not have been able as yet to prevail upon our selves for doing the same, when the Differences between us are not by far so great, when our own Preservation lies at the stake?

Then he proposes the two same Means as above, and the same Reasons for engaging the Protestant Princes to enter into a strict Alliance for the Support of the COMMON CAUSE, as he had done before with the Queen of *England*, altering only what was to be altered (*a*).

To

(*a*) *Memoires de Du Plessis Mornay* Tom. I. Thuan. lib. 79. But his Relation differs in several places from that of the *Memoirs*; but tho' they differ, they do not contradict one another. I have chosen to draw that Abstract out of the *Memoirs*, rather than out of Thuanus; because the first was published in 1624, that is about fifteen Months after the Author's Death, who had been

To these Instructions were added a kind of ^{Henry III.} Apology for the King of *Navarre's* Conduct ^{1583.} since his Marriage, wherein the ill Treatment ^{Pope Gre-} he had received at Court from the Year 1572 to ^{gory XIII.} 1576, when he made his Escape, are set in a full View; then he exposes the great Perfidiousness of his and the Reformed's Enemies, the Violences of the pretended States-General held at *Blois* in 1577, the Violations of the several Treaties, most of the things which had been promised to his Party remaining unperformed, no Redress of their Grievances being obtained, and being denied Justice as to their civil as well as to their religious Rights. Notwithstanding which the said King of *Navarre* hath exactly and faithfully performed whatever he was engaged to by the said Treaties, delivering up the Places which he had promised to deliver, tho' his own Cities, Castles and Houses are still detained by his Enemies, contrary to the very Words of the Edict; he has confirmed by his own Authority the Sentence of the Judges against those of his own Party, when they have done any thing contrary to the Treaties, dismantling the Places which they had fortified; nay, causing some of the Ringleaders to be executed in several Places, tho' it was plain enough that they had been provoked by the Catholics and were not the Aggressors; which, may be, he would have pursued more vigorously, had he not been made sensible at last by the Impunity of the Catholick Infractors, that the contrary Party required Justice not for Justice-sake, but to make him, under that pretence, the Executioner of their private Hatred and Re-

B b 3

venge.

been at the trouble not only of writing them with his own Hand, but also of putting them in the Order they are now extant.

Henry III.

1583.

Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

venge. Then he speaks of the Violences committed in *Dauphiné* and *Languedoc*, even since the Treaty of *Flex* concluded with the Duke of *Anjou*. And continuing to oppose his own Actions to the contrary Party's, he relates the most advantageous Offers he had made to his most Christian Majesty, in order to assuage his Enemies and to mollify their Hearts, *viz.* seeing that the Duke of *Anjou* was engaged in a War against *Spain*, and that his said Majesty was obliged to support his own Brother, he offered of his own accord to invade *Spain*, and to carry the War into the very heart of that Kingdom, to lay out of his own five hundred thousand Crowns; and that the King might assist him with Money in case his Circumstances don't allow him to declare himself openly as yet, his *Navarrese* Majesty will mortgage unto him his own hereditary Counties of *Rouërgue* and *L'Isle*, two of the finest and richest of the whole Kingdom, valued at a million of Crowns. Moreover, for removing all Suspicions from his most Christian Majesty, the said Prince offers to have his Army composed of *Switzers* the best Allies of the Crown, of *Reisters* commanded by the King's own Colonels, and other *French* Subalterns of either Religion, and to resign the Command of that Army to a Marshal of *France* of known Fidelity and Experience, assisted by the best Captains that have been constantly in the King's Service, and by the Chiefs of the Catholick Nobility that live upon the Frontiers; and for a greater Security, the said Prince and the Prince of *Condé* offer to deliver into his Majesty's hands, the first his own Sister, and the second his own Daughter, before the Beginning of the Campaign, as a Pledge of their Fidelity; and he doth declare,

that

that as soon as that Enterprize shall be on foot, he will deliver up the Cautionary Towns before the End of the Term. Such were the Offers proffered to his Majesty in the King of *Navarre's* Name, at the Beginning of this Year, whereby all unprejudiced Persons might see that that Prince sought earnestly to remove all Mistrust, to suppress the Animosities, to abolish the Names of Parties, and to reunite the Hearts of all the Subjects into one and the same Will and Mind. But what Success had he? Who will believe! at that very same time when he gave such undeniable Proof of his unfeigned Zeal for the Glory of the King and the Welfare of the Kingdom, his Enemies were hard at work in contriving his own and the Reformed's Destruction, brewing a general League with the *Pope* and the Catholick Princes his Adherents. The *Nuncio* insisted more than ever upon the Reception and Publication of the Council of *Trent*, and the Introduction of the *Inquisition*; the King shewed himself the *Pope's* Advocate, notwithstanding the Advices and Decrees of his Parliaments. The Jesuits, those Incendiaries of Christendom, have been raised to such a high pitch of Favour and Credit, that they are become intolerable through their Pride, &c. (b)

Henry III.
1583.
Pope Gregory XIII.

B b 4

With

(b) Thuanus speaks of some more secret Articles concerning the Holy Supper, and other Points controverted between the Lutherans, Zwinglians and Calvinists; and he makes these last to say many fine things in the Praise of Luther: Such as these, That the Reformed Churches in France considered and worshipped Luther, as their Father in Christ; that since the Apostles he was the only one who had done so much good to the Church of God, by his Writings and other Labours, &c. But I don't find any such Flatteries in Du Plessis Mornay, who is the Author of the

Henry III. With these Instructions and Memoirs De Segur, to whom Thuanus adjoins Calignon, set out from Rochelle at the Beginning of September, and arrived a few Days after in England. From whence they came to Holland, and conferred with the Prince of Orange at Dordrecht; of whom having received some new Instructions they proceeded thro' Rotterdam, Leyden and Amsterdam, to Enchuysen, where they took shipping and arrived during a most severe Winter at Hambourg, and from thence at Bremen; from whence they went and delivered their Credentials to the Dukes of Lunebourg, Wolfenbuttel and Brunswick. The Relation of their Journey would prove too tedious, therefore it will be sufficient to speak of the Success thereof.

CXLVIII. It answered not at all their Expectation, and served only to increase the Jealousies of the Lutherans against the Reformed, thro' the devilish Wickedness of some Lutheran Divines. The Envoys had some Conferences with the Duke of Brunswick, about some Articles of Religion; but John Molzius first Counsellor to that Prince seeming to him too partial, his Highness referred the Matter to the Elector John George Marquis of Brandeburgh, and to William Landgrave of Hesse, and resolved to have their opinion before he should give his own. Accordingly he wrote to the said Landgrave, to the Administrator of Hall Archbishop of Magdebourg, and to the Elector of Brandebourg. This last Prince, considering that many fruitless Conferences had been tried heretofore between the Divines

the Instructions given to Mr. De Segur. And as to the *Acta Legationis Segurianæ*, quoted by Thuanus, I did not see them: however, I am far from pretending to invalidate that most illustrious and learned Historian's Testimony.

Divines of both Parties, was not much inclined to try again the same way; however, as he was of a meek Temper and a sincere Lover of Peace, he wrote on the 20th of January to *Chemnitius*, a Divine of great Repute amongst the Protestants, and told him, that the Remembrance of the bad Success of past Conferences between the Lutherans and Calvinists made him very uneasy about the Success of a new one, such as the King of *Navarre* desired to have it. Nevertheless, lest he should be thought too averse from bringing Matters to an Agreement, he thought very proper that since there was no great Difference between the Calvinian and the Lutheran Opinion concerning the Lord's Supper, a Conference might be opened between a few, six or at most eight, of the *French Reformed Divines*, and as many of the *German Protestants*, all of a pacifick Temper, and sincerely seeking the Glory of God and the Welfare of the Church; whereby the Publick might understand, that the Churches of *Germany* and *France* differed not so far one from the other upon that Article, as it was commonly believed: The Letter was dated at *Cologne* upon the *Sprew*, the 20th of January.

Chemnitius approved much of the Elector's Opinion, provided withal that in the Explication of the Article of our Lord's Supper, whereupon they may possibly agree, according to the manner it would be proposed, the Calvinists should not repeat their ancient and so many times condemn'd Interpretation; that when the Lutherans say, that they receive with the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, the true Body and the true Blood of Christ present, according to his Institution, they understand this of the absent Body of Christ, which is circumscribed and

remains

Henry III.
1583.
Pope Gregory XIII.

1584.

Henry III. remains in a certain Place, and cannot be elsewhere: the Faithful only makes it present by his Faith, and receives it in a spiritual manner.

1584.
Pope Gregory XIII.

From whence they infer that the unworthy Communicant receives nothing else besides Bread and Wine, and not the Body and Blood of Christ. His Letter was dated from *Brunswick*, where he was Professor, the 24th of January. He answered in the same strain to the *Landgrave of Hesse's* Letter.

Tho' the Elector of *Saxony* carried his Intolerance so far as to cause his Counsellor *Crac* to be beheaded, and *Gaspard Peucer*, Son-in-law to *Melancton*, to be cast into a dark and loathsome Dungeon, for their Moderation; nevertheless he received the King of *Navarre's* Ambassadors much more kindly than they had reason to expect, and promised his Concurrence for procuring the Conference between some Divines of the two Parties, and for promoting the Union between the Protestant and Reformed Powers.

With these Hopes the Envoys took their way thro' *Magdebourg*, *Mecklenbourg*, *Rostock*, and arrived at *Lubeck*; from whence they went to *Copenhagen*, to confer there with the King of *Denmark*. But at their Return to *Verden* they received Advice, that the Emperor being much exasperated against them, had given Orders to the Duke of *Bavaria* and to the Count of *Solm*, to arrest them; whereupon *De Segur* wrote to his Imperial Majesty, and justified his Conduct upon three Articles, wherewith he was charged by his Enemies: 1°. That being a Foreigner he had been so daring as to enter the *Empire* without leave. 2°. That he had treated with the Princes of the *Empire*, without having paid his Respects to his Imperial Majesty.

jeſty. 3^o. That he had attempted to raiſe Henry III. Commotions in the *Empire*. His Reaſons were of ſuch Weight that the Emperor repealed his Orders to arreſt them. Then having conferred with *Henry of Saxony-Lawemburg*, Archbiſhop of *Bremen*, and Adminiſtrator of the Biſhoprick of *Paderborn*, whom they did meet in this laſt City; *Segur* returned into *France* by the ſame way he came, and *Calignon* took his way through *Strasbourg*, and viſited the *Switz* Cantons, to whom he gave an Account of the Succeſs of his Embaſſy (c).

The Rumour whereof being ſpread throughout the *Empire*, Part of the Envoys Letters and Inſtructions were printed at *Ingolſtadt*, under this Title, *The Calvinian Conflagration cauſed by the King of Navarre's Envoys to ſome of the Princes and States of the Empire, to the Diſturbance of Religion and the Commonwealth*; with a Preface, and an Account of the Matter; and beſides that, an Anſwer very cunningly contrived, and which was then aſcribed to ſome Jeſuit (d).

One very remarkable thing had lately happened in *Germany*, which put the Roman-Catholicks of that Country much out of humour, and cauſed a bloody War in the Electorate of *Cologne*, and other Countries upon the *Rhine*; to wit. the Archbiſhop *TRUSCHES* Elector of *Cologne's* Change of Religion. CXLIX. *The Elector of Cologne turns Pro- teſtant.*

In the Year 1577, *Salentine* Count of *Iſembourg*, Biſhop of *Paderborn*, and Archbiſhop of *Cologne*,

(c) Thuan. lib. 79. pag. 667—670.

(d) Idem ibid.

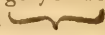
Henry III. *Cologne*, being the last of his House, resigned
 1584. these two Dioceses for marrying *Willemina An-*
 Pope Gre- *tonia*, Daughter to *John de Lignes*, Count of *A-*
 gory XIII. *remberg*. He was succeeded in the See of *Pader-*
 born by *Henry of Saxony* Archbishop of *Bremen*,
 and Bishop of *Osnabrugh*, upon Condition that
 the said *Henry* should reside three Months every
 Year at *Paderborn*, three at *Osnabrugh*, and six
 at *Bremen*. *Gebbard Truckesius*, Baron of *Val-*
bourg, Son to *William*, and Nephew to *Otho*
Cardinal of Augsbourg, was elected Archbishop
 of *Cologne*. He had a mind to follow the Ex-
 ample of his Predecessor, and to marry; but
 at the same time he would not resign his Elec-
 toral and Archiepiscopal Dignities. And hav-
 ing fallen passionately in love with *AGNEZ*,
 Daughter to *John George*, Count of *Mansfeldt*,
 a Nun in the Convent of *Girrisheim*, surnamed
 for her transcending Beauty THE FAIR AG-
 NEZ; he at last at the Instances of *Peter Er-*
nest, of *Mansfeld*, Brother to the Lady, married
 her in secret at *Bonn*, in the Beginning of the
 Year 1582. And whereas he was not very
 rich, he sought all possible means for retaining
 his Dignities; for which end, at the Instigation
 of the Counts of *Solm* and *Newenar* his intimate
 Friends, he engaged the Reformed of his Elec-
 torate to petition the Magistrates for the free
 Exercise of their Religion in the District of *Co-*
logn. Their Petition was not immediately an-
 swered, but the Magistrates sent their Serjeants
 to those who had subscribed it, with Orders to
 repair to Goal, (for it is the Use in that City,
 that unless in Cases of the greatest Moment,
 the Citizens cannot be carried to Goal by Force).
 The Petition was answered Article by Article
 by *Melchior Bruin*, and Assemblies and Confe-
 rences were ordered; but the Reformed think-
 ing

ing to have done enough by addressing them-
 selves to the Civil Magistrate, without waiting
 for the Decision of the Assembly held at *Augs-*
bourg, at the Instigation of the Count of *Ne-*
wenar assembled together on the 5th of June
 1582, in the Borough of *Mechteren*, of the said
 Count's Demefn, and heard a Sermon preached
 by *Zachary Ursin* of *Silesia*, whom Prince *Ca-*
simir had sent for that purpose. Whereat the
 Magistrates of *Cologn* being troubled, and hav-
 ing commanded the Gates of the City to be
 shut up on the next Sunday; this their Pro-
 ceeding was variously taken, according as the
 People stood inclined. Some pretended, that by
 the Laws of the *Empire*, *Newenar* had a right to
 hold religious Assemblies in the Lands of his
 own Jurisdiction; others gainsayed, and owning
 that *Mechteren* was indeed of the said Count's
 Jurisdiction, they say that it depended of a su-
 perior one, to wit, the Archbishop's. All this
 while that Prelate would make the World be-
 lieve, that *Newenar* had acted unknown to him,
 and the Count of *Solms* denied to have been
 privy to it. After some other Conferences, the
 Magistrates of *Cologn* made use of main Force,
 and having caused the Trees that hindered the
 Prospect from that City into *Mechteren* to be cut
 down, and their great Guns to be levelled againſt
 that Place, they began to play, whereby the
 Roof of the Castle was pierced through and
 through, and the Count of *Newenar* escaped
 very narrowly from being killed by the Bullet.
 The Count of *Solms* was with him at that time,
 feigning to bring him to some Agreement with
 the Magistrates; wherein succeeding not, as in-
 deed he had no mind to it, and the Canons of
 the Cathedral, seeing that Matters were near
 to be brought to a Sedition, they desired a
 Con-

Henry III
 1584.
 Pope Gre-
 gory XIII

Henry III. Conference which was appointed at *Molbeim*,
 1584. where *Gebhard* was present himself. After se-
 Pope Gre- veral Debates *Newenar*, at the Instances of the
 gory XIII. Archbishop, after having made his Complaints
 of the Affront put upon his Person by assault-
 ing the House wherein he was, yielded at last,
 saying, that he did it not out of any Regard
 he had to the Canons, but at the Archbishop's
 Request. Then, as that Prelate was preparing
 to go to the Diet, the Canons fearing lest he
 should plot something there with the Ambassa-
 dors of the Protestant Princes to their own pre-
 judice, they deputed thither *Frederick* of *Saxony*,
 one of their own Body, to watch over that Pre-
 late's Steps; whereby great Jealousies and Ani-
 mosities arose between him and the Elector, to
 the great detriment of both.

I shall not insist any further upon that Affair,
 which occasioned a bloody War in that Coun-
 try, as abovesaid; I shall observe only these Par-
 ticulars: 1°. That the Elector of *Cologne* having
 openly declared his Sentiments as to Religion,
 and published his Marriage with the Princess
Agnez in 1583, he was supported by most of
 the Protestant Princes and States of *Germany*,
 especially by the Electors of *Brandebourgh*,
Saxony, and *Palatine*. 2°. That notwithstand-
 ing all these Princes Endeavours and their strong
 Remonstrances to the *Emperor*, he was excom-
 municated and deprived of all his Dignities by
 the Pope's Bull, given at *Rome* on the 1st of
 April 1583; and a little after *Ernest* of *Bavaria*,
 Bishop of *Liege*, &c. was elected in his stead.
 3°. That in the Year 1584, after having lost
 several Battles, and almost all the Places that
 held for him, he was forced to take refuge with
 his Lady near the Prince of *Orange*, at *Delft*
 in *Holland*.

I don't know how long he lived, nor what ^{Henry III.} was his end; I find only, that after several ^{1584.} fruitless Attempts for recovering at least some ^{Pope Gregory XIII} Part of that great Fortune to which he had  been rais'd, and from which he was fallen down thro' his Folly, he took a turn into *Germany* in the Year 1589. *Thuanus* gives him but a bad Character, and indeed it is plain enough, that his Change was not the Effect of any Persuasion of his concerning the Truth of *Calvinism*, but of his Lust after the fair *Agnéz*, and of her own Relations Ambition, which put two of the finest Circles of *Germany* into Combustion. He was much unlike the pious *Herman* Count of *Wielden*, who was deprived of his Dignities by the Bull of *Pope Paul III.* which was executed by *Charles V.* in 1545, as we have said in our First Volume, and who chose to live a private Life rather than to disturb the publick Peace, seeing that he could not succeed in his Attempt by any fair means (e).

However, such being the State of Affairs in *Germany*, no wonder if *Monfieur De Segur* was so ill treated by the Catholicks, if he met so many Obstructions in his Negotiations, if he carried with him only Words from the most powerful, and if he was denied Passage through the Lands of some petty Princes, such as that of *East-Friesland*, for fear of disobliging the Emperor (f).

But a sad Accident happened on the 10th ^{CL.} of June, which occasioned in great measure all ^{The Duke of Anjou's Death.} the following Calamities which befel the Kingdom of *France*, I mean the Death of *Francis Duke*

(e) *Thuan.* lib. 65. p. 229. lib. 76. p. 582, &c. lib. 78. p. 650, &c. lib. 79. lib. 96, &c. *De Prade Hist. d'Allem.* 2 Part. p. 264.

(f) *Ribbius Hen.* 4ti. *Epistolæ.*

Henry III. Duke of *Alençon, Anjou, Berry, and Brabant*,
 1584. Count of *Flanders, &c. &c.* Brother to the King,
Pope Gre- and next Heir to the Crown. That Prince re-
gory XIII. markable by several Events of his Life, and
 whom we have seen once at the Head of the
 Reformed Party when united with the Politicks,
 deserves to be taken notice of.

His Cha- He was born on the 19th of March 1554,
rafter. and was the youngest Son that survived *Henry II.*
 his Father: He was of short Stature, but well
 proportioned, of a tawny Complexion; his
 Face was something swollen, and from his Infancy
 spotted with the Small-Pox (g). As to his
 Genius he was fickle and changeable, sharp,
 courteous, magnanimous, eloquent, magnificent,
 ambitious, troublesome, quick. As to his Mo-
 rals, *Agricola* says, that he was very vicious,
 dissolute and lewd; and, indeed it is almost im-
 possible, that a Prince brought up in such a
 Court where the most heinous Vices of all Sorts
 reigned imperiously, should be very virtuous;
 and we must pay an Acknowledgment to one,
 when he is not quite so wicked as others.

His

(g) *Thuan.* lib. 79. p. 680. But *Agricola* says that by
 his lewd Life he had spoiled his Face, which was full of
 Pimples, and had caused a Swelling which made him look
 as if he had had two Noses, and that he had lost both
 by Putrefaction. Those two Noses occasioned the follow-
 ing witty French Epigram.

*Flamands ne soyez Etonnez
 Sia Francois voyez deux Nez,
 Car par droit raison, & Usage
 Faut deux Nez a double Visage.*

Addit. aux *Memoires de Castelnau*, Tom. I. liv. 3.
 pag. 701.

His Mother had no great Regard for him, Henry III. 1584. Pope Gregory XIII. either because he was not so well shaped as his Brothers *Charles* and *Henry*, or because she was for a long time so fond of *Henry*, that she had no Eyes for others. Some Passages of his Life. However she altered her Behaviour towards him when she found that the Favourites prevailed so far with her darling Son, that they had divested her almost of all her Authority and Credit at Court. Then she thought proper to feign a greater Inclination for him and to countenance him in many things, even to the prejudice of the Crown, the King, and the Kingdom; that she might thereby render herself necessary for adjusting the Differences which arose between the two Brothers, and whereof she was herself the very first Spring. This she shewed at the Treaty of 1576, wherein such immoderate Appanage and Prerogatives were granted to the Duke by her persuasion, that nothing like had been seen before for the two last Centuries; tho' it was credibly reported, that she had advised underhand, the said Duke to make his Escape from Court and put himself at the head of the Confederates Army.

Another thing which she did in his behalf; very prejudicial to the Kingdom, was to advise the King to grant him leave to accept the Protection of the Confederates in the *Low Countries*, and then the Sovereignty of these Provinces. In order to understand this, we must resume the matter a little higher, and go back to the Year 1574.

The Duke of *Alva*, who was not ashamed Affairs of the Low Countries. to brag of his Extortions, and unheard of Cruelties, having been recalled, as said in our former Volume, was succeeded by *Lewis De Requesens*, great Commendator of *Castile*; he got

Henry III. a Victory over the Confederates at *Mouker-Heyden* near *Nimeguen* in the Year 1574, wherein
 1584. *Ludowic of Nassaw* was killed. Then he con-
 Pope Gre-
 gory XIII. vened the States General for getting Money, but far from granting his Demand, they united themselves more strictly for the defence of their Liberty ; and being much encouraged by his Death, which happened few Months after, they seized upon the Government which had remained in the hands of the Council of State, 'till the coming of a new Governour which was *Dom Juan of Austria*.

The *Spanish* Troops mutinied, and plundered the rich City of *Antwerp*, which occasioned a Treaty of Union made at *Ghent* in 1576 between the Catholick Provinces and those of *Holland* and *Zealand*, called THE PACIFICATION OF GHENT.

Tho' *Dom Juan* had consented to the Terms tendered to him by the States, before he was admitted, viz. that the *Spanish* Troops should go out of the Country, and that he should approve and confirm the Treaty of *Ghent* ; nevertheless he was no sooner confirmed in the Government, but he began to commit Hostilities, and seized upon *Namur*, *Charlemont* and *Mariembourg*. For which cause the States set an Army on foot, and forced him to retire into *Luxembourg*: then they elected Arch-Duke *Matthias*, Brother to the Emperor, for their Governor, and the Prince of *Orange* for his Deputy ; but thro' the Jealousies that reigned between the Catholick Lords, the Counsels and Endeavours of the Prince of *Orange* became abortive, and *Dom Juan* had sufficient time for receiving the Troops, that were brought to his Assistance by *Alexander Farnese* Duke of *Parma*, wherewith he got a great Victory over the

Army

Army of the States at *Gemblours*. At the same time a third Party was formed in the *Low Countries*, at the head whereof was the Lord *Montigni*. The news of the Rout of *Gemblours* being arrived in *France*, the Duke of *Anjou*, who had gaped a long time after the *Low Countries*, thought these Circumstances very proper for forwarding his Designs ; therefore he dispatched *De la Fougères* to the States to offer them his services. They received him with great marks of Respect, and told him that the Duke would much oblige them, was he pleased to send some Deputies, with whom they might treat in common. Whereupon he sent the Count of *Roche-pot* and *Des Pruneaux* ; they were met at *St. Ghislain* by the Count of *Lalain*, the Lord of *Frezin* and Doctor *Liesfeldt*. They did not enter almost into any particulars as to the Conditions, which were agreed upon in *August* following ; only the Deputies were assured, that the Coming of the Duke into the *Low Countries* would be very agreeable to the States, and to the People in general. The Duke having received this Answer, marched with eight Thousand Foot and one Thousand Horse which he had already raised amongst the Nobility. These Troops receiving no Pay, committed the greatest Disorders, plundering every thing, and every where, not sparing the Castles and Country-Houses of the Nobility and Gentry which they met upon their March ; the King suffering that, because he desired earnestly to see his Brother and his Adherents out of the Kingdom at any Rate ; and they entered the *Low Countries* not like Friends, but rather like inveterate Enemies.

However, with these Troops he arrived at *Mons*, where he was received by the Count of *Lalain* Governour of *Hainault*, and the Depu-

Henry III. ties of the States : From thence he dispatched
 1584. to *Antwerp*, *Bussy d'Amboise*, the Lord *De Vil-*
 Pope Gre- *leré*, and *Mondoucet*, who transacted with the
 gory XIII. States on the 13th of *August* 1578, and agreed
 upon the following Terms: That the Duke
 should declare himself openly an Enemy to
Dom Juan of Austria, and all his Adherents ;
 that he should maintain at his own Charge for
 three Months, Ten thousand Foot and two
 thousand Horse ; and if the War continued
 still after these three Months, he was obliged
 to keep only three thousand Foot and five
 hundred Horse : That in order to increase the
 Forces of the States, he should procure the
 Friendship of the Queen of *England*, and make
 an Alliance with the King of *Navarre*, and
 Prince *Casimir* ; that he should not make War
 against any, on account of their Religion ;
 that they should be at liberty to make Peace
 at their own pleasure in a Year's time ; however,
 without any Prejudice to the said Duke and his
 Adherents or Allies ; and upon this Condition,
 that before the end of *July* next *Dom Juan*
 should put into the hands of the States, *Lux-*
embourg, *Ruremonde*, *Daventer* and all the
 Towns on this side the *Meuse* : That when the
 said Duke should be present in the Army, he
 should command as General conjointly with
 the States Captain-General, who, in his ab-
 sence, was to command in chief, in the name
 of the States ; that the Government of the Pro-
 vinces shall remain in the hands of the Nobles,
 of Arch-Duke *Matthias*, and of the States
 Council ; that they will oblige themselves not
 to chuse any other for their Lord but the said
 Duke, if they ever renounce King *Philip* :
 That they engage to the said Duke the Towns
 of *D'Arvennes*, *Quesnoy*, *Landreëy* ; but if *Phi-*
lippsbourg,

lipsbourg, Binch, or Mariembourg should be taken, they will serve in the stead of *D'Avennes*; then the Places to be conquered, were parted between the said Duke and the States. He promised likewise to hinder, (as much as he could,) the *French* from coming to the Assistance of the *Spaniards*, and to repute for his Enemies all those who should be declared such by the States. That Agreement was published at *Antwerp* the 20th of *August*: whereupon the Duke took the Title of, DEFENDER OF THE LIBERTY OF THE LOW COUNTRIES, AGAINST THE TYRANNY OF THE SPANIARDS AND THEIR ADHERENTS.

Notwithstanding all this Bustle, the Duke, after having taken some small Towns deserted by the Inhabitants, instead of making all the haste he could to join the Army of the States, lost most part of his time at *Mons*, at the persuasion of the Count of *Lalain*, who had a Pique against the States. Then upon various pretences, having put Garrisons in the Places belonging to him, and the rest of his Army having disbanded, not without his Knowledge and secret Consent, he set out himself for his return into *France* in the Month of *November* 1578, leaving behind him *Des Pruneaux* to be his Agent near the States. They on their side sent their Deputies to the Duke, to return their Thanks to his Highness and renew their Promises of reimbursing the charges he had been at for their Relief, and to intreat him to persevere in the good will he had for them.

The Union, called of *Utrecht* by the name of the Place, was concluded in the Year 1579, on the 23d of *January*, between the Provinces of *Holland, Zeland, Gueldre, Zutphen, Utrecht, Friseland Overysse*, and others. The Contract contains 24

Henry III.
1584.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Henry III. Articles, and was subscribed by all the Deputies
 1584. of these Provinces, and after that at *Ghent*, by
Pope Gre- the Inhabitants, on the 4th of *February*; at
gory XIII. *Antwerp*, by the Prince of *Orange* on the 3d
 of *May*, and on the 11th of *June* by *Lalain*
Count of Rheneberg, Governour of *Friseland*,
Overyssel, *Groningen* and the *Ommelands*. Then
 the Cities of *Antwerp*, *Bruges*, *Breda* and se-
 veral others did the same.

At last the Divisions subsisting still in the *Low Countries*, obliged the States in 1580, to chuse the Duke of *Anjou* for their Prince upon certain conditions, at the instigation of the Prince of *Orange*; which was done accordingly in the Month of *June*. The States of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Mechlin* and *Friseland* being assembled at *Antwerp*, they deputed *Philip de Marnix* Lord of *St. Aldegonde*, with *Cornelis*, or *Noel Caron* Burgmaster of the *FRANC* at *Bruges*, *Gaspard Vosberg*, and some others, with full Powers for treating with the said Duke. They met him at *Plessis Lez Tours*, the 29th of *September* 1580, and transacted upon the Terms agreed between the Parties, which were ratified at *Bourdeaux* with some additional Articles, after the Conferences of *Flex*. Several Medals were struck in *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, &c. upon that account. Then the said Duke persuaded the King his Brother that the best way for settling a solid and lasting Peace in his Kingdom was, to carry the War into some foreign Country, that the Providence of God offered him a fair opportunity for it; seeing that the *Low Countries*, groaning under the intolerable Yoke of the *Spaniards*, the mortal Enemies of the *French Nation*, besought most earnestly his Assistance. So his Majesty, who till then had declined to answer favourably
 their

their humble Petition, lest he should be obliged to enter into an open War with *Spain*, ought not to take amiss, if he himself received them under his Protection, and undertook their Defence; therefore he intreated his Majesty to grant him his Assistance for accomplishing so just, necessary and honourable a Design. That things were now come to such a *Crisis*, that he must chuse either to have a continual War at home, or to carry it abroad; that he was ready to serve his Majesty and the Kingdom, as in Duty bound in either; but that he was in hopes, that if he afforded him the necessary things to carry it in the *Low Countries*, the Chiefs of both Parties being employed abroad, a solid Peace will be settled at home.

Henry III.
1584.
Pope Gregory XIII.

The King, tho' he was very averse from a War in the *Low Countries*, nevertheless as he desired passionately to live quietly at home, consented to his Brother's Proposition; and at the persuasion of the Queen his Mother, he granted the Duke a large Sum of Money, and promised that if he enlisted Men in his Dominions for that Service, he would take no notice of it; but he added this Condition, that he should not be obliged to wage War with *Spain* on the side of *Guienne*, and to give the management thereof to the King of *Navarre*, (for he knew that that Prince insisted upon that:) What he was willing to do for his dearest Brother, he would by no means do it for one who was a much more remote Relation to him, and of a Religion contrary to his own: So he consented that he should treat with the King of *Navarre* about the Pacification of the present Troubles. The Duke transported with Joy went post into the *Perigord*, and concluded with his Brother-in-law the Treaty of *Flex* abovementioned.

Henry III. Which done, he wholly applied himself to
 1584. his intended Expedition ; and whereas he knew
 Pope Gre- that many People opposed underhand his De-
 gory XIII. sign, either out of fear of the Power of *Spain*,
 or because they dreaded some mischief for him ;
 he sent his Letters to several Parliaments of the
 Kingdom, wherein he declared his undaunted
 Resolution of delivering the *Low Countries*
 from the cruel Bondage of their Oppressors ;
 and that his Expedition was not only honoura-
 ble, but would prove very advantageous to the
 Kingdom. The Parliament of *Paris*, by the
 advice of the first President *De Thou*, sent these
 Letters to the King without opening them,
 saying, that no Letter directed to the Parlia-
 ment ought to be opened, before the King or
 his Chancellour had perused them.

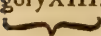
Having appointed *Chateau-Thierry* for the
 Place of Rendezvous to his Troops, the Duke
 arrived upon the Frontiers on the 15th of *Aug-*
ust 1581 ; his Army was composed of four
 thousand Horse, and ten thousand Foot.

Cambray had been blocked up for a long time
 before, and in great want of Provisions, in so
 much that the Besieged were forced to live up-
 on Horses, Cats and Dormice ; and the
 Dearth was such, that a Cow sold for two hun-
 dred Florins, that is, about twenty Pounds
 Sterling ; a Sheep fifty ; a Pound of Butter
 four Shillings ; of Cheese five Shillings ; an
 Egg a Groat, and an Ounce of Salt four Groats.
 The Duke of *Anjou* arrived in good time with
 his Army to their relief. The King of *Spain's*
 Lieutenant retreated immediately, and the two
 Armies having been for some time in presence
 on the 17th of *August*, at last he removed his
 Camp, and retired to *Valenciennes*, having left
 part of his Troops in the neighbouring Garri-
 sons.

sons. The Duke of *Anjou* entered *Cambray* ^{Henry III.} with great Shoutings of Joy of the Inhabitants. ^{1584.} Two Days after he took the Oath in *St. Mary's* ^{Pope Gre-} Church, and then in the Town-House, to ^{gory XIII.} maintain their Privileges, and to govern them according to their Laws.

The next day he went to *Arleux* and *Sluys*, (*L'Escluse*) the Enemies having been expelled from these Places, and some Days after he besieged *Chateau-Cambresis*; which after some Cannon-shots surrendered itself, and the Garrison came out safe without Matches: several other Places, invited by the Clemency of the victorious Duke, followed that example and surrendered themselves. Then he was desired by the Prince of *Orange* and the States to get by force thro' the Enemies Army, and come into *Brabant*, and that they had Troops ready in *Flanders*; having sent *La Garde* and *Stuart* with their Regiments, on purpose to meet him in the way. But he excused himself, because most part of his Troops were Volunteers, or on the King his Brother's pay; besides which, Jealousies had arose amongst the Chiefs, which occasioned a great Desertion: therefore he thought that it would be enough for him before he proceeded any farther, to take a Turn in *England*, to accomplish as much as it was in his power his Promises of Marriage, and to the end that when he should come back into the *Low Countries* it might appear, not only that he came supported by the Forces of so great a Queen, but even by her Permission and Consent.

A little before the States General had been assembled at the *Hague* on the 26th of *July*, and had renounced, by a publick Instrument, their Obedience to King *Philip* of *Spain*, they published a Manifesto, wherein they declared that

Henry III. that a People were not born for the Prince,
 1584. but the Prince for the People ; for People may
 Pope Gre- subsist without Princes, but Princes not : from
 gory XIII.  whence they inferred that the Prince is in Duty
 bound to love his People, as a Father his own
 Children, or as a Shepherd his own Sheep,
 and to govern them according to the known
 Laws established amongst them ; whoever do
 otherwise, is no longer a Prince, but a Tyrant,
 and the People is no longer obliged to keep
 their Oath of Fidelity and Allegiance to him.
 Which having applied to King *Philip*, and e-
 vinced by many Instances that he had violated
 in the most unjust, cruel and barbarous manner
 all the known Laws of the Country which he
 had sworn to observe and keep religiously, they
 concluded that he had forfeited all his Rights,
 and that he was no longer their Prince, that the
 People was freed from their Allegiance to
 him, in consequence whereof they had elected
Francis Duke of *Anjou*, &c. to be their law-
 ful Sovereign, to whom they promised their
 Faith and Obedience according to the Laws,
 &c. &c.

This Act was much censured by many, even
 amongst those who were very averse to the *Spa-
 nish* Government ; for they said, that it was not
 a new thing to wage War against Sovereigns,
 when all other mild means for obtaining a Re-
 dress of Grievances proved ineffectual, but for
 all that, People had always persevered in the
 just Obedience due to their Sovereign, and never
 had a mind to divest him of his just Rights,
 much less of his Sovereignty. Some of them
 were even so tender upon that Point, and a-
 mongst them *RALDA*, Deputy of *Friseland*,
 that when the Oath to the Duke of *Anjou* was
 tendered unto him, he fainted away, and died a
 sc w

few Days after, without having taken the said Henry III. Oath.

However, the Duke of *Anjou* having set sail from *Dover* the 9th of *February* 1582, arrived at *Flessingue* on the 11th; he was received in a triumphant manner, was met by the Prince of *Orange* and that of *Espinoy*, and the noise of the Artillery was so great and frequent, that it was heard from *Calais*. The next Day he went to *Middelburgh* where the States of *Zeland* met him; on the 17th of the same Month he set out from that Place, and arrived the next Day at *Lillo*, from whence he proceeded to *Antwerp*, where the Ceremonies of his Inauguration as Duke of *Brabant* and Marquis of the *Holy Empire* were performed, having sworn to govern them not after his own will and pleasure, but according to Justice and their own Privileges.

About this time the Prince of *Orange* being at *Antwerp*, was in great danger of his Life. One *Jouereguy* a Servant to *Gaspard Anastre* a Banker Bankrupt, who was suspected of having poisoned *Don Juan* of *Austria*, fired a Pistol at his Highness as he came out from Dinner, the Bullet went thro' the right Ear, the left Jaw-Bone, and came out thro' the Palate under the upper Teeth; this happened on the 18th of *March*. The Prince was cured of that Wound; but at the first instant the *Flemish* thinking that the Duke was privy to that Attempt, because the *French* Lords who had dined that Day with the Prince of *Orange* had killed the Villain upon the Spot, were very near to assault his own Person in the Castle of *Antwerp*. But the young Prince *Maurice* Son to the wounded having of his own accord searched the Murderer's Pockets, found Letters

from

1584.
Pope Gregory XIII

Henry III. from *Spain*, and written in *Spanish*, which plainly discovered the Author of this tragical Scene.

1584.
Pope Gregory XIII

While the Prince was upon a mending way, the Duke was making his publick Entry at *Bruges* and *Ghent*; in this last City he received the *Regalia* of his Dignity as Count of *Flanders*. Few Days after *Salcede's* Conspiracy against his Person and Government was discovered; he was Son to that *Salcede* who had opposed the Cardinal of *Lorraine's* Designs upon the *Messine Country* mentioned in our 3d Volume; he commanded a Regiment which he had raised at his own Charge, and was in the Duke's service; but he kept secret Correspondence with the Duke of *Parma* Governour for King *Philip*, which being discovered by the Prince of *Orange*, he was arrested with *Francis Bafa* an *Italian*, and a Banker named *Balduin* and some others.

The bottom of the Plot is yet unknown, for *Bafa* having confessed very strange things, murdered himself in Prison. As to *Salcede*, he charged so many Persons of known Probity and Fidelity, and varied so many times in his Confessions, that it was, and is still impossible to know with any certainty the Truth of the matter. He was drawn at four Horses Tails through *Paris*.

Now the *States* had but very little Money to bear the great Charges they were at for keeping Garrisons in so many Places. Therefore the Duke's Army was only of five thousand Men that Campaign, which even he was obliged to divide in three small Bodies for covering the out-sides of the great Cities. But tho' the Duke of *Parma's* Army was of thirty thousand strong, nevertheless for want of Provisions, and for some other Accidents, he could perform
nothing

nothing else but the taking of four or five small Castles of very little Importance.

Henry III.
1584.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

Francis, Prince *Dauphin*, Son to the Duke of *Montpensier*, and the Marshal of *Biron*, brought to the Duke of *Anjou* a Reinforcement of seven thousand Foot and twelve hundred Horse; he himself had taken into his pay some Companies of *Reïsters*: This was his last shift, for he had laid out for this War the whole Revenues of his Appanage; and three hundred thousand Crowns besides, which he had borrowed of his Friends. The four millions of Florins, which the States raised for the Service of the Year, had been consumed in needless Pensions; so that there remained not forty thousand for himself. He intreated in vain the King his Brother for some new supply; but he was deaf to all his Intreaties, either out of Jealousy, or out of Dread of the King of *Spain*, or both together (*b*). His Majesty let him know by the advice of his Favourites, that he ought to undertake something whereby he might put himself in a condition of supporting his Dignity. And what his Enemies advised him to do in order to forward his Ruin, the Queen-Mother advised him the same in order to confirm and strengthen his Settlement.

Therefore being absolutely governed by People without Honour and Faith, such as his Secretary *Quinsay*, *Fervaques* and *Aurilly* his Son in Law, he was put upon the desperate Attempt of seizing upon the *Low Countries*, and making

(*b*) *Thuanus* tells us, that the King's Council intended to bring the Duke of *Anjou* and the States of the *Low Countries* to such extremities, that they would be glad to submit themselves to any Terms which his Majesty would be pleased to impose, in order to obtain his Assistance. *Lib. 77. p. 619, 620.*

Henry III. making himself absolute Sovereign of these Pro-
¹⁵⁸⁴⁻vinces. Consequently he gave orders to his
 Pope Gre- Captains to seize all at once upon seven or
 gory XIII. eight of the best Cities, such as *Bruges*, *Ant-*
werp, *Dunkirk*, &c. and the 18th of *Janu-*
ary 1583, was the Day appointed for that Ex-
 ploit. All this was plotted unknown to the
 Duke of *Montpensier*, the Counts of *Laval*, and
Rochefoucauld, to *Avantigny* and others who
 certainly would have diverted his Royal High-
 ness from such a base Design.

The Attempt succeeded at *Dunkirk*, *Dix-*
mude, *Tendermunde*, *Wilworde* and *St. Vinox*,
 where the *French* were superior in number : but
 they miscaried at *Alost*, *Newport*, *Ostend* and
Bruges. As to *Antwerp*, they were very near
 succeeding. The Duke had taken upon
 him the Execution of the Plot in that City.
 Two Days before, he had caused all the Troops
 to come into the Suburbs ; just as if he had a
 mind to review the Army. The chief Officers
 being come to pay their respects to the Duke,
 received orders to seize by force upon *Crone-*
bourg's Gate adjoining to the Prince's Palace
 on the next night, and to introduce the Troops
 through it into the City. But the Plot being
 suspected, the Militia was put under Arms,
 and that Order could not be executed that
 Night. The next Day early in the Morning
 the Duke paid a visit to the Prince of *Orange*,
 and told him that he was going to review his
 Army, and desired his Company ; but the
 Prince excused himself upon the bad State of
 his Health and the bad Weather, for it was a
 rainy Day : then he added, that they had to
 deal with a very suspicious People, therefore
 he intreated his Royal Highness to desist and not
 to stir out of the City. The Duke feigned to
 consent ;

consent; but being gone, his Favourites pre-
 vailed with him again, and having hastened his
 Dinner, he went out of the City with his
 Guards and two hundred Horse. He stopt
 upon the Bridge, to the end that at the signal
 appointed (which was to murder the Officer
 which was there upon Duty) his Guards might
 seize upon *Croneburgh's* Gate. Which done, the
 Gentlemen that rode before him came back
 into the City, expelled the Burgeßes that were
 near the Gate under Arms, and set the next
 House on fire as a warning to the Army to come
 in all haste. In less than an hour seventeen
French Companies and six hundred Launcers
 were introduced into the City, crying aloud,
 KILL, KILL, MASS FOR EVER, CITY CON-
 QUERED. But the Citizens, who having gues-
 sed at the Duke's design beforehand, had their
 Arms ready, came out in the Streets which
 they barricadoed with the Chains, they put
Corps de Garde in all the Cross-ways, and the
 Women were at the Windows with Stones and
 huge pieces of Wood. *Fervagues* one of the
 Duke's Favourites was arrested at the head of
 one hundred Horse and two Companies of
 Foot, by the Prince of *Orange*, and by him
 sent prisoner into the Castle, having his Hands
 tied behind his Back. That happy Success en-
 couraged the Citizens. They all joined toge-
 ther without any difference of Religion, Sex,
 or Condition for expelling the common Ene-
 my, wherein they succeeded so well, that the
 Duke, who was out of the City, was forced to
 retire with the remainder of his Troops, having
 lost fifteen hundred Men, amongst whom there
 were three hundred Gentlemen all killed upon
 the spot, and two thousand Prisoners, who
 were spared thro' the Clemency of the Prince
 of

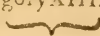
Henry III.
 1584.
 Pope Gre-
 gory XIII

Henry III. of *Orange* and the good-nature of the Inhabitants, who lost in the fray about one hundred Men, and had many wounded.

1584.
Pope Gregory XIII.

Now the Duke covered with Confusion and Shame, having missed his aim, retreated with his Army to the Castle of *Berken*, from whence he wrote to the Deputies of the States, and extolled to the Skies his Services to the Country, magnified the repeated Injuries he had received since he was arrived amongst them; which had put his Army out of patience and obliged it to commit such Disorders which he was very sorry for; That he had not altered his good-will towards them, whereof he was willing to inform them, desiring them to let him know their last Resolution, that he might take his own accordingly.

The States resolved at the Prince of *Orange's* Intreaties, who insisted much upon bringing matters to some agreement, to send some Deputies to the Duke. It would be too tedious to relate the several Messages passed between the two Parties, the many Dangers and Miseries whereto the Duke and his Army were exposed for above five Months; it will be sufficient to observe, that having stayed in vain for two Months together at *Dunkirk*, he took Ship on the 28th of *June*, and came to *Calais*, from whence he proceeded into the *Cambresis*, where he passed the remaining part of the Year in a very melancholick Condition, being confounded at the very thought of his treacherous unfortunate Attempts. He came to Court in the latter end of *February*, where having made an humble Confession of his many grievous Offences to the King his Brother, and revealed some Secrets of the League, and the advantageous Offers which the Duke of *Guise* had caused to

be made unto him, two or three Weeks before ^{Henry III.} he was reconciled to his Majesty. He stayed ^{1584.} but few Days at Court, and set out at the be- ^{Pope Gre-} ^{gory XIII.}  ginning of *March* for *Chateau-Thierry*, where he languished to the day of his Death (i).

He died unmarried, tho' he had been betrothed to Queen *Elizabeth*, whom he had visited three several times; and tho' the Articles had been agreed, and the Marriage-Contract drawn up in form and signed, and all other things consented to her Satisfaction, on the 15th of *June* 1581; nevertheless it never came to a conclusion, either because she had nothing else in view by that Treaty but of amusing the Court of *France*, or because she saw that such a Match was very unpleasing to most part of her Subjects, and filled up their minds with Jealousies, or because some natural Infirmary put her Life in danger had she ever consummated her Marriage.

That Princess had been promised to *Charles* of *Angouleme* third Son to *Francis* I. by her Father, when she was yet in the Cradle; then in 1565, *Charles* IX. sent *Castelnau Mauvissiere* into *England* for proposing a Match between himself and her Majesty. A few Years after, the same Embassador proposed in the King's name the Duke *Henry* of *Anjou* his Brother, and at last for nine or ten Years together, the Treaty of Marriage was on foot between her Majesty and *Francis* Duke of *Alençon*, &c. which came to nothing. That Prince received many kind offices from Queen *Elizabeth*, especially in the last Voyage he made to *England*

V. III. PART II. D d in

(i) *Petit Chronique de Hollande, Zelande, &c.* Tom. 2. liv. XI, XII, XIII. Thuan. lib. 66, 68, 71, 72, 74, 75, 77, 79. Grotius, Ann. & Hist. de rebus Belgicis. Lib. 2, 3, 4.

Henry III. in 1581, when she supplied him with Men
 1584. and Money for his Expedition in the *Low*
Pope Gre- *Countries* (j).
gory XIII.

He died very penitent, and shewed an entire Resignation to the Will of Almighty God: he had earnestly intreated the King his Brother, by his last Will, to save as much as possible upon his funeral Pomp in order to discharge his Debts, which amounted to three hundred thousand Crowns; but his prodigal Brother chose to lay out two hundred thousand Crowns in his Funeral rather than to pay a Farthing of the Deceased's Debts (k).

His death was suspected to have been procured by Poison, given him by some Emissary of *Spain*; the Surgeons which opened his Body found some symptoms thereof; and the Murder perpetrated on the Person of *William I.* Prince of *Orange* by *Balthazar Gerard*, on the 10th of *July* following; and the Plot of *William Parry* against *Queen Elizabeth*, discovered in the Month of *February* before, were Indications that served to strengthen the Suspicions entertained against *Spain*.

CLI. The King was overjoyed when he heard of
The fatal the Duke his Brother's death, he reckoned that
Consequen- event amongst the most prosperous of his Life;
ces of his but he was most grossly mistaken, for that
death. death gave a new Life and Strength to the Fac-
 tions that tore the Kingdom into pieces, and oc-
 casioned at last his own Ruin. Therefore he
 returned to his former way of living, not mind-
 ing *Salcedo's* Advices and Confessions, and not
 considering that his Brother had been the only
 Obstacle which had kept in awe the *Spaniards*
 and

(j) *Mem. de Castelnau Mauvissiere*, Liv. v. ch. 11. 13.
Addit. aux Mem. de Castelnau, Liv. ii. ch. 2. Liv. iii.
 ch. 1. p. 649, 701. (k) *Thuan. Lib. 79.*

and *Leaguers*, and hindered them from executing their wicked Designs. For almost all the young Nobility had followed the said Duke in his Wars in the *Low-Countries*; but now being dead, and they having very little regard for the King, who grew every day more and more contemptible, they took party with the Duke of *Guise*. It was not long before he was made sensible of his Mistake, more slowly however than it was requisite for preventing the pernicious Designs of the *Leaguers*, and for diverting the imminent Danger wherewith he was threatened; he suffered himself to be imposed upon by the Guile or Cowardliness of his bad Counsellors who flattered him, and never spake unto him but according to his own Inclinations and Mind.

Henry III.
1584.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

The King of *Navarre*, and the chief of the Reformed in *Languedoc*, &c. had just then given the King a fresh Instance of their Fidelity and Zeal for his Majesty's Service and the Welfare of the Kingdom. The *Leaguers* had engaged the Duke of *Savoy* to attempt upon the City of *Arles* in *Provence*, upon promise that at the same time they would procure an Insurrection in some of the best Cities of the Kingdom, such as *Orleans*, *Chaalons* upon *Saone*, &c. The said Duke had entrusted Captain *Beauregard* with that important Secret, together with Captain *Espiard*; the Duke of *Savoy* acted in the King of *Spain*'s Name; the Duke of *Montmorency* was strongly solicited by the said Duke to enter into that Conspiracy. The Lord of *Chatillon* having been acquainted with the Plot by *De Les Diguieres* and the said *Beauregard*, sent immediately notice thereof to the King of *Navarre*, who thought proper to dispatch upon the spot the Lord *du Plissis* to Court,

CLII.
Important Discoveries made by the Reformed.

Henry III. with the said *Beauregard*, for informing his Majesty of the particulars of that Plot. *Du Plessis* arrived at Court the beginning of *February* 1584; he met with a gracious Reception, he was heard upon the subject of his coming, he was consulted upon the means of preventing the wicked Designs of the Enemies of the State; but his Opinion was followed only in part, and that too very weakly; *Beauregard* was recompensed. *Du Plessis* was charged with some other Commissions besides this, especially of soliciting a prolongation of the Term for restoring the Cautionary Towns, and a Permission for holding a political Assembly of the Reformed Churches: As to the first, he obtained nothing at this time; but as to the second, it was but after the King's Brother's Death that his Majesty was pleased to send that Licence to the King of *Navarre*.

I have been surprized to find that *Thuanus* has entirely omitted an Event of that Importance, which is related in *du Plessis's* Memoirs, and by his Biographer (1).

CLIII.
The Duke
of Esper-
non sent
to the
King of
Navarre.

At the same time the Duke of *Espernon* the King's greatest Favourite was sent to confer with the King of *Navarre*, and covered his Journey with the specious Pretence of paying a visit to Lady *La Valette* his Mother who lived at *Caumont*, and whom he had not seen since he had been raised to so great a pitch of Grandeur. The King had commanded him to endeavour to bring the King of *Navarre* to make a new recantation of the Reformed Religion, and to show him that such a step was not only very beneficial and useful unto him, who was become the presumptive Heir of the Crown by the Duke of *Ajou's* Death, but likewise

(1) Mem. de Du Plessis Tom. 1. Vie de Du Plessis Liv. 1.

likewise necessary to the Tranquility and Welfare of the Kingdom, that by such means the wicked Designs of the *Guifians* grounded only upon his Religion would be defeated; that if he would comply, he might expect all kinds of Favours from his Majesty.

Henry III.
1584.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

When *Esperson* had declared his Charge to his *Navarrese* Majesty, and added several private Advices, as if it were of his own, a Debate arose in that Court between *Roquelaure* a zealous Catholick Lord, and the Minister *Marmet*, in presence of the renowned *Arnauld du Ferrier*, formerly *French* Embassador at *Venice* and to the Council of *Trent*, and then Chancellor to the King of *Navarre*; the Point in Debate was, whether it was expedient for the said Prince to accept of the King's Offers upon the terms tendered unto him, and whether such a Step would be conducive to the Peace and Tranquility of the Kingdom. After several Arguments on both sides, drawn from Scripture and Reason, *Du Ferrier* decided that, seeing the King of *Navarre's* Change could not be of any Service, either for strengthening the Concord between the King and his *Navarrese* Majesty, or for maintaining the Peace and Tranquility of the Kingdom, or for procuring the Favour of the States to the said Prince; his Opinion was that he should not take that Step. Whereupon that secret Conference broke off (*m*).

The Success of his Message.

D d 3

The

(*m*) Thuan. Lib. 80 adds further, that the Debate ran likewise upon this Point whether the King of *Navarre* was to go to Court? and that *Du Ferrier* voted for that; but he thought that the said Prince ought not to make a long stay in that Place. But, according to the Biographer of *du Plessis*, *Thuanus* has put together two Consultations which have been in two different times, that about going to Court was in 1583, as observed in its proper Place, and that about Religion was in 1584. *D'Esperson's*

Henry III. The Duke of *Espernon*'s Biographer tells us,
 1584. that before the said Duke set out on his Return
Pope Gre- to Court, he said to the King of *Navarre*,
gory XIII { " that tho' he denied to the King his Master
 " the Satisfaction he had desired, nevertheless
 " whereas he considered him as his good Kinf-
 " man, and his Successor to the Crown, if he
 " died without Male Issue; his Majesty had
 " commanded him to assure him, that he
 " would approve whatever he would do for
 " putting himself in a Condition of opposing
 " the pernicious Designs of the League, which
 " aimed at no less than the ruin of the royal
 " House. That since they could not act con-
 " jointly on this Occasion, he would do well
 " to secure to himself the Cautionary Towns
 " which he deemed more sure in his hands
 " than in the Leaguers: And tho' in the pre-
 " sent Juncture he could not favour him open-
 " ly because of his Religion, and could not a-
 " void to insist outwardly upon the Restitution
 " of the said Cautionary Towns; nevertheless
 " he would be very well pleased with every
 " thing he should do for his own Advan-
 " tage (n).

CLIV. In the Month of *September* was held at *Mon-*
Assembly *tauban* an Assembly of the Deputies of the Re-
of the Re- formed Churches of *France*, for to consult toge-
ferred at ther about the most proper means of settling a
Montau- lasting Peace and Tranquility in the Kingdom;
ban. there were present the King of *Navarre*, the
 Prince

non's Biographer speaks only in this place of the change of Religion, and the rest might be one of these Mistakes in the 3d vol. of his History, whereof *Thuanus* owns himself he had been made sensible by *Du Pleffis*, and which he promised to correct in a new Edition. See his own Letter in *Du Pleffis*'s Memoirs Tom. 3. pag. 618, 619.

(n) *Guard Vie du Duc d'Espernon*, Vol. I. pag. 79. but he mistakes as to the Year, for it was in 1584 and not in 1585, as he says.

Prince of *Condé*, the Counts of *Chatillon* and *Laval*, the Viscount of *Turenne*, and several other Lords, Gentlemen, Captains and Deputies of all the Provinces professing the Reformed Religion. *De Bellievre* was likewise present in the King's Name, who insisted upon the Restitution of the Cautionary Towns. *Du Plessis* was charged by the Assembly to draw a most dutiful Address to his Majesty, setting forth their many Grievances and that the Reasons for which these Places had been granted them, being now the same, and even more pregnant than when at first granted, they most humbly besought his Majesty to prolong the term of the Restitution for three Years more, &c. The Count of *Laval*, the Lord *Du Plessis* and Mr. *Constant* were deputed by the Assembly to Court, with the said Address.

1584.
Pope Gregory XIII.

They met the King at *Blois* and had their first Audience, but the Plague beginning to rage in that Place, they were put off till the Court should come to *St. Germain*. His Majesty answered their Petition as favourably as the Circumstances of the times could allow, and with some difficulty he prolonged for two years more the term for the surrendering of the Cautionary Towns, instead of three as they had required.

They sent a Deputation to the King.

The *Guisians* having been informed of *Espernon's* Conferences with the King of *Navarre*, of the Assembly held at *Montauban* with the King's Licence, and of the favourable Answer his Majesty had been pleased to give to their Petitions, bawled every where, even in the Pulpits by their Emissaries, that the Church was in danger, that the King countenanced the Hereticks, that he intended the Subversion of the ancient and most holy Catholick Religion,

CLV.

*Commo-
tions of the
Guisians
thereupon.*

Henry III. that for that end the Duke of *Espernon* had been sent to the King of *Navarre*, rather than for settling Peace, and endeavouring to bring the said King to return to the Religion of his Ancestors; and several other such like seditious Speeches, wherewith the Cities and the Country resounded, and whereby the Nobility, Gentry and Commons were extremely moved, and began to make clandestine Assemblies, to inlist secretly Soldiers in the Country, to name secret Chiefs and Captains, and to take proper measures for being ready to raise all at once at a short warning.

CLVI. The King received notice of this, and seeing it was not with the Reformed, as he had been made to believe, but with the *Guisians* that he had to deal. he was angry with his Counsellors, and upbraided them in secret; however, some of them bribed by the Queen Mother, persuaded him that these commotions were not premeditated, but occasioned by *Espernon's* Journey into *Guienne*, and the Assembly of the Reformed at *Montauban*. That therefore his Majesty ought not to trouble himself so much about them; that the Truth will soon prevail against the false Reports, and that those who were said to be the Authors thereof, will stand at rest as soon as they will see that there was no danger for their Religion or their own Persons.

CLVII. Tho' his Majesty was not at all satisfied with these Reasons, nevertheless his Inclination to a lazy Life made him yield to his Mother's Advices, and so he dissembled his just Resentment, and thought that it would be enough for that time to forbid upon pain of Treason all clandestine Confederacies, Societies and Enlisting of Men; he sent his Edict to the Parliament on the 11th of *November*, which was

read

read and published on the 4th of *December* to the great sorrow of that most illustrious Body, who were very sensible that such an open and odious Conspiracy ought not to be repressed by Words only but by Deeds, and by open force and a just severity which was then very requisite.

Henry III.
1584.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

On the 1st of the said Month of *December* was hung in the *Greve*, *Peter d'Esquain*, Lord of *Belleville* in the Country of *Perche*, for some satyrical Writings against the King, which he owned to be his own, his Corpse and Writings were burnt, he was a Reformed.

Belleville
executed.

In the same Month the Duke of *Espernon* was raised by the King to the Dignity of Colonel General of the Infantry of *France*, to which his Majesty annexed much higher Prerogatives than any Colonel-General had ever enjoyed before; for not only he made of it an Office of the Crown, which had never been done before, but he gave him supreme Power over the Life and Death of the Troops, and added when he delivered to the Duke the Patents of his Commission, that he was very sorry that it had not been in his power to increase his Authority, and to annex to that Charge some part of the Royal Dignity (o).

Espernon
raised to
the general
Colonelship
of the In-
fantry of
France.

After the Duke of *Anjou's* death, the States of the *Low Countries* resolved to intreat the King his Brother to receive them under his Protection; they had already stipulated some of the Conditions, and King *Henry* seemed not at first averse to it, he had even promised to assist them; which coming to the knowledge of the Duke of *Parma*, Governour of the *Low Countries* for the King of *Spain*, he left no Stone unturned either for diverting the States from coming

CLVIII.
The States
of the
Low
Countries
seek the
Protection
of France.

(o) Thuan. Lib. LXXX. p. 689, 90. Girard Vie de Duc d'Espernon, Tom. I. p. 87.

Henry III. coming to a Conclusion of their Treaty with
 1584. *France*, or for obstructing their Negotiation at
 Pope Gre- that Court ; and whereas he could not succeed
 gory XIII. in the first, he turned all his Thoughts to the
 other Side.

Des Pruneaux had been left, as above said, by the Duke of *Anjou* to take care of his Affairs in the *Low-Countries*. This Gentleman, after his Master's death, had employed himself in the Negotiation for the King, but tho' he stood well affected to the Honour and Welfare of his own Country, nevertheless seeing how things went at Court, and that the more honest was not there the more happy, he was not so steady in his Virtue as he had been, he preferred his own private to the publick Interest. *Paul de Foix*, and *Pibrac* were dead ; and such other great Lights of *France*, that could advise the King impartially and give him a generous Counsel, had been expelled from Court ; there remained almost none that could or durst advise him to improve that Opportunity which Providence offered, of averting the threatening danger the Kingdom was in, and of enlarging the Limits thereof, which two things could have been easily done, by undertaking in earnest the Protection of the *Low Countries*. Contrariwise, many there were, who, either out of a shameful dread of the great power of *Spain*, or favouring its Designs under-hand, did not indeed deter openly the King, but started such Difficulties in the way, which they knew were great enough for disheartning a Prince of his Character, and by that means they spun out the Time, and let slip by an odious Prevarication, the Occasion of doing an important Service to their King and Country, as well as to them who besought their Protection. Nevertheless, out of hatred against the *English* whom they knew would undertake

dertake the said Protection if the King refused the Terms proposed unto him, they made use of a base Dissimulation; for on one hand they amused the poor *Dutch*, and on the other, they warned in secret the King of *Spain's* Ministers, that tho' the King seemed to hearken to the Propositions of the *Dutch*, they may be assured that he was not in earnest, but that he sought only to hinder them from making an Alliance with *England*, and to relent their Endeavours by giving them Hopes of Relief; which Excuse however the *Spaniards* did not receive as a Truth, but rather as a secret Confession of their Fears and Cowardise. Whereby they conceived such an Opinion of the *French* that they became the Object of their Scorn, and henceforward were more daring in their Attempts against the King and the Kingdom.

Moreover, the Queen Mother who bore very impatiently the loss of her Credit and Authority at Court, willing to recover the same at any Rate, even at the ruin of the Kingdom, chose rather to have War at home than to carry it abroad, because she was Umpire at home, but the Generals had the Management of the War abroad; therefore she was extremely averse to a War with *Spain*; and her Desire of promoting the Welfare of the *Low Countries* had vanished away with her Son *Francis Duke of Anjou's* Life. And seeing that of so many Sons she had had, there remained only King *Henry* who was like to die without Issue, and that the King of *Navarre*, whom she hated, was presumptive Heir to the Crown, she put that in her Head to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Realm, whereby Females are excluded from succeeding to the Crown, and began to lay down her Scheme for putting the

Crown

Henry III.
1584.
Pope Gregory XIII

Henry III. Crown upon the Head of her Grandson the
 1584. Marquis of *Pont*, Son to the Duke of *Lorraine*
 Pope Gre- and to her Daughter *Claudia* of *Valois*; for suc-
 gory XIII. ceeding therein she thought proper to side with
 the *Guises*, in hopes that they would support
 her Designs, being so nearly related to the
 House of *Lorrain*. Therefore she was very
 careful to extenuate whatever was every Day
 reported to the King concerning the Enterprizes
 of the *Guises*, and the Commotions that were
 every where raised in the Cities at their own
 Instigation, and their secret Correspondences
 with foreign Princes; and the principal Coun-
 sellors that were then at Court, especially the
 infamous *Villequier*, willing to gratify the
 Queen, dissembled them wickedly.

By these means the Affairs of the *Low Coun-tries* were kept at a bay, and those Counsellors, out of Jealousy against the *English* rather than out of Hatred against the *Spaniards*, did not openly reject the Terms offered by the *Dutch*, but they eluded them by the Length of their Proceedings.

Nevertheless *Des Pruneaux* continued to go to and fro and always kept the *States* in Suspense, bringing them Words from the King more specious than true. These Secrets were not hidden from Queen *Elizabeth*, she foresaw rightly that this sluggishness of the *French* Court would procure unto her a better Bargain with the *States*, and enable her to sell her Protection at a greater Rate, which indeed happened as she had foreseen.

1585. However after some Debates the *States* re-
 solved to send a most honourable Deputation to
 King *Henry*, at the Head whereof was *Peter de*
Melun Prince of *Espinoy*. They sailed from
La
 They sent
 an Embas-
 sy for that
 purpose to
 the King.

La Brille at the beginning of *January 1585*, Henry III. 1585. Pope Gregory XIII. and landed in *France* in the same Month. They were desired to stay and wait for the King at *Senlis*, ten Leagues from *Paris*. Whereby the King's corrupted Counsellors betrayed their Treachery and Cowardise, for such an Affair ought to be treated publickly and not in private; and it was thought then, that by that Step which was a plain demonstration of their Fears, they afforded the *Spaniards* and Leaguers an Opportuniry of hastening the Execution of the Enterprizes, they had so long ago plotted against the King and the Kingdom, which would have been at least retarded if not defeated, had his Majesty shewn forth some Courage on this Occasion and embrac'd with all his Heart the Protection of the *Low Countries*; but that unfortunate Prince, the Sport of his Favourite, uncapable by himself of any generous Resolution, having given Audience to the *States* Embassadors which he had sent for to *Paris*, dismissed them with a denial, not considering that he had been already too far, not to provoke the King of *Spain*, and that the best and only way he had for not dreading his Resentment was to go on with a greater Vigour than he had begun (*p*).

That the Civil War which broke out this Year and raged in the Kingdom for about twelve Years together, was not undertaken on account of Religion, it is very plain if we consider the advantageous Offers that had been made to the King of *Navarre*, for himself and the Reformed Party, by the Duke of *Guise*, the Author of that War several Years before, and of late in 1583, by the King of *Spain* himself, the great Abettor and Supporter of the League. CLIX.
True Causes of the War of the League

Henry III. League. And whereas these Transactions might appear incredible to my Readers, I think proper here to insert the Particulars thereof, such as I found them in *Du Pleffis's* Biographer, whose Authority is undeniable.

1585.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

The King
of Spain's
Offers to
the King
of Na-
varre.

It was in 1582 that the King of *Spain* bearing impatiently the Duke of *Anjou's* Enterprize upon the *Low Countries*, and being resolved to revenge himself one way or another, sent into *Bearn* the Viscount of *Erchaux* and the Viscount of *Undiano*; they were both *Navarrese*, but one of them was subject to King *Philip* and the other to the King of *Navarre*, on pretence of settling the frontier between the two Princes: they were charged to treat with the King of *Navarre*, who being informed thereof by *St. Geniez* Governour of *Bearn* and *Low Navarre*, he sent *Du Pleffis* to meet the Deputies and conjointly with *St. Geniez* to confer with them about the Subject of their Deputation. They told them, that the King of *Spain* had sent them on purpose to treat with the King of *Navarre* concerning the welfare of both, and that he would afford him means of becoming much greater than he or his House had ever been. That he could not question but the King of *France* would redemand the cautionary Towns, the Term being near at an End. That if he refused to surrender them, he would force him to it, and if he did it of his own accord, he would divest him of all the rest; that even some of his Guards had been bribed to murder him. That for his own part he had great Reasons to complain of the King of *France*, who being at peace with him, and without any Provocation, had consented that the Duke of *Anjou* should invade his Dominions of the *Low Countries*, and had supplied him with Troops and Money,

therefore

therefore he was resolved to be even with him : Henry III. So that if the King of *Navarre* was willing ^{1585.} to undertake to wage War with those of his ^{Pope Gre-} own Party against the King of *France*, he ^{gory XIII.} would pay to him beforehand three hundred thousand Crowns already at *Pampelune*, and henceforward an hundred thousand every Month. That he did not intend to do any Prejudice to his Religion, that he required only of him that he should rest satisfied with the increase of the TEMPORALITIES, and as to the SPIRITUAL with the free Enjoyment of whatever had been granted unto him and his Party by the King's Edicts: lastly, that he desired no better Security than the King of *Navarre's* Word. These were the first Propositions made to that Prince in the latter end of 1582.

Those of the Year 1583, were more ample and advantageous, King *Philip* being informed of the taking of *Mont of Marsan* by the King of *Navarre*, and of the Affront which had been put upon the Queen of *Navarre* by the King her Brother, dispatched the same Envoys to his *Navarrese* Majesty, who received them at *Pau* in *Bearn*; and having presented their Credentials, they insisted upon the same Topicks, and made the same Offers; to which they added that the King of *Spain* without minding the Religion offered a Match between the *Infanta* his Daughter and the King of *Navarre*, and between himself and Princess *Catharine* Sister to the said King: and as to the Divorce between the King of *Navarre* and his present Wife, he ought not to trouble himself about it, for he would take upon him to engage the *Pope* to grant it without Difficulty.

All these fine Offers were received as they ought to be, the King of *Navarre* returned his
most

Henry III. most hearty Thanks to his Catholick Majesty, ^{1585.} but declined upon very generous Principles the Pope Gregory XIII. accepting of any such thing, only he offered to mortgage his own Demefn in the *Low Countries* for the Sum of five hundred thousand Crowns. The Deputies seeing that they were not able to shake the generous Resolution of the King of *Navarre*, told *Du Plessis* as they parted, *You don't know what you do when you refuse us, for we have our Merchant ready to conclude with us; but our Master was willing to give you the Preference* (q). That Merchant was the Duke of *Guise*, whom the King of *Spain* threatned to come to an Agreement with the King of *France* at his own Cost, if he delayed any longer to execute the Engagements he was entered in some Years before with *Dom. Juan of Austria*, when Governour of the *Low Countries*, as we have said in another Place.

Indeed *Thuanus* tells us, that the said Duke having been taught by Experience that he and his House had drawn upon themselves the hatred of many, on account of the Wars that had been so often kindled in the Kingdom only for their sake, and that it was absolutely necessary to have some of the Princes of the Blood at the head of his Party for dazling the People's Eyes, and for concealing the better his own private Ambition, by which means he would likewise divide the Royal Family, which being united together, would have put an insuperable Obstacle to his vast Designs; he had, immediately after King *Charles's* Death, tampered with the King of *Navarre*, who was then Prisoner at Court, and endeavoured to stir him up against the then Duke of *Alençon*, in case *Henry* his Brother should

(q) Vie de Du Plessis Mornay, Liv. i. p. 66, 67, and 75, 76.

should chance to die without Male Issue, and he lived very friendly with him, being always together, eating at the same Table, and lying often together. The King of *Navarre* feigned not to dislike intirely the Proposition; he was very glad to have that Opportunity of diving into the Secrets of the said Duke, whom he considered as an Enemy to the Royal House, and to himself consequently.

Henry III.
1585.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

That Prince having made his escape from Court in 1576, all that Friendship vanished away, the Duke of *Guise*, who made a boast of his being able to manage and turn every one at his pleasure, owned himself that he could not bear to have been outwitted by the King of *Navarre*; from whence arose great Jealousies and Animosities between them, which were something suppressed as long as the Duke of *Anjou* lived, but degenerated after his Death into an irreconcilable hatred; and the Duke of *Guise* was more than once heard to say to his most private Friends, that since the King of *Navarre* had scorned his Friendship and Interest, so far as to refuse to have him for a Friend, he forced him to declare himself his Enemy. So now he opposed to that Prince, whom he intended once to have opposed to the Duke of *Anjou*, another Prince of the Blood, and it was the Lot of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, Uncle to the King of *Navarre*, to become the Sport of the *League*, as we shall say presently (r).

Now is it not plain, that Revenge and a boundless Ambition, and not Religion, were the only true Motives of the War which was kindled at this time? The King of *Spain* offers his Assistance, his Protection and several other great Advantages to the King of *Navarre*

(r) Thuan. Tom. IV. Lib. lxxx. p. 2, 3.

Henry III. and his Party, if they will become the Executors of his hatred and Vengeance against the King of *France*. The Duke of *Guise* would have been very glad to act under the King of *Navarre's* Name, had that Prince been actuated by Principles less just and noble; had he less consulted what he owed to the fundamental Laws of the Realm, to his King and Country. Was Religion the Principle that actuated those mighty Sticklers for the Catholick Religion, who set up themselves for the Defenders thereof? But how could that be, when they carried the Profanation of every thing that is reputed sacred and holy amongst the Catholicks to such a Degree, that they were a scandal even to the *Hugonots* themselves, who had no such Notions of these Things, sparing neither Nunneries, nor their Churches, or Altars, or Pyxes or Chalices, as their own Historians have been forced to own it? We must then take this for granted, that a revengeful Spirit and a boundless Ambition were the only Springs that set that dreadful Machine in motion.

CIX. The Duke of *Guise* had already caused *Charles* Cardinal of *Bourbon* to be pumped upon that Subject by *Andrew de Rubenbré*; that Prince who had spent his whole Life at Court, and who was a Man of no great Genius and Capacity, was easily persuaded by the crafty Arguments of the said Duke, that the Crown belonged unto him if King *Henry* chanced to die without Male Issue; rather than to his Nephew the King of *Navarre*. One Lawyer named *Matthew Zampini* of *Racanati*, having been bribed by the *Leaguers*, had published lately a Pamphlet upon that Subject, wherein he endeavour'd to evince the said chimerical Right, and was fully answered by *Fran-*

Cardinal
of Bour-
bon won
by the
Duke of
Guise.

is Hotman. Had it not been for the King Henry III. of Navarre's Religion, the whole Nation was thoroughly persuaded that by his Birth-right he was next Heir to the Crown, but his Religion was the Bug-bear whereof his Enemies made use to fill up the People's Minds with Panicks, that if he succeeded to the Crown, he would pull down the *Roman Church*, and extirpate their Religion.

1585.
Pope Gregory XIII.

CLXI.
The Duke of Guise's Artifices.

The Duke of *Guise*; the Author and Abettor of all these Troubles and Commotions, wanted all these Supports; and seeing, that in order to improve them for his own Interest, he ought to dissemble with every one, he never spoke his real Sentiments to any one of them, but he spoke one thing to one, and quite the reverse to another; he imparted some part of his Designs to one whom he knew was able to help him, and another part to another, according to what Capacity he discovered in them; so that no body knew his whole Secret. According to these Maxims he fed Cardinal of *Bourbon* with a certain hope of succeeding to the Crown, preferably to the King of *Navarre*, and of a Marriage with his Sister the Dowager of *Montpensier*, a Princess of a very haughty and turbulent Spirit. When he spoke to the *Queen Mother*, he gave her to understand, that what he did for Cardinal of *Bourbon*, he did it only for facilitating the Exclusion of the King of *Navarre*; which once being done, as the Cardinal was very old and decrepit he could not live long, and by one way or other, the other Princes of that House having lost their Credit, the Right of Succession would be devolved to the Duke of *Lorraine's* Sons, and promised all his Interest to bring that important Affair to a Conclusion agreeable to her own Inclinations.

Henry III. Was he conferring with the King of *Spain's* Ministers, he told them that what he feigned to do for the *Cardinal* and the *Queen Mother*, he was not doing it with any Prospect of Success; for should the Crown fall upon that old Man's Head every thing would fall to decay, and that he was not such a Fool as to consent to the transferring of the Crown into the House of *Lorraine* as the *Queen Mother* flattered herself, being too weak for such a Weight. But that he was necessarily obliged to deceive them both for succeeding more easily in his Designs; and that his real Thought was, that the Order of the Succession could not be subverted without putting the Crown over the Head of a more potent Prince, able to keep and defend it when once gotten, and of whom he might expect a Recompence suitable to the greatness of the Service. Nay, he did not deal plainly even with his own Brethren, the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the Cardinal of *Guise*; this last being a perfect Debauchee, he was afraid lest he should unravel his Secret to some Woman or other, and the first being much less Ambitious, and averse from any ill gotten Fortune, he was sensible enough that if he did impart to him his vast Designs, far from approving them he would obstruct them as much he could. As to his Cousins the Dukes of *Aumale* and *Elbeuf*, besides that he despised them because they were not endowed with very great Parts, he questioned not but that they would side with him and follow his Fortune whenever he should want their Assistance. Remained the ungrateful *Philip Emanuel* Duke of *Mercoeur* Brother to the reigning Queen, whom his Majesty had gratified with the Government of *Britanny*, having bought it for a large Sum

of Money of the Duke of *Montpensier*, and the Prince of *Dombes*. That Lord was a convert Man and *stubborn*, he had his Designs a part, and was endeavouring to revive some stale Pretensions he had upon that Dukedom by his Lady's Right, who was descended from the ancient House of the Counts of *Pentievre*, therefore it was thought that he would not be faithful to the King.

Henry III.
1585.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

The said Duke of *Guise* had his own Emissaries in the great Cities and in the Country Towns, Men fallen to Poverty, or charged with Crimes, who despaired to retrieve their Fortune, or to get their Absolution without a Civil War: At *Paris* especially where they met together frequently, and he desired earnestly that the Sedition might begin in that City, being persuaded that others would follow the Example of the Capital. For that purpose he had some hireling Preachers ready to do and to say every thing for a *Spanish* Pistole, and indeed without minding the Word of God, they entertained their Hearers with idle Tales, and filled their Minds with Panicks; nay they were not ashamed to revile the King as a *Sardanapalus*, or an Abettor of Hereticks, and extolled the *Guises* to the Skies. Besides the Preachers, the said Duke made choice of Scribes who made use of their venomous Pens for exasperating the People against the present Government, amongst whom, was one *Lewis d'Orleans* an Attorney, who published at this time a long and verbose Declamation, under the Name of a Catholick *English* exiled, who in return for the safe Refuge he had met in *France*, warned the *French* to beware the Sectaries' Ferment and Tyranny, otherwise they would share the same Fate as the Catholicks in *England*, and be exposed to the same Tortures,

Henry III. Torments, Punishments, Penalties, and Ban-
 1585. nishments as they were: from thence all the
 Pope Gre- Preachers in *Paris* and all over the Kingdom,
 gory XIII. took occasion, as it were, of one accord, to
 rage like drunken Men against the *English* Per-
 secutions, crying up that *French* Catholicks were
 threatned with a like Danger from the Sectaries.
 And lest any thing should be wanting to fill
 the People's Minds with Horror and Dread,
 the *Guisians'* Emissaries caused Cuts to be print-
 ed, wherein, whatever they said falsely con-
 cerning these Persecutions was represented, and
 exposed to the publick View, and proper Per-
 sons were appointed to inform the Standers-by
 of what was represented; whereto they whis-
 pered at first, but at last they said aloud, *such*
will be the Fate of the French, if ever the King
of Navarre comes to the Crown. Which plainly
 tending to an open Sedition, the King com-
 manded the Lieutenant Civil to take away the
 said Pictures wherever he could find them, and
 having sent *Claude Dorron* Master of the Re-
 quests, for searching and seizing the Copper-
 Plates thereof, at last they were found in *Guise's*
 House, where they were taken in his Absence,
 and brought to the King. Nevertheless the
 same Cuts were afterwards printed again, with
 this further Addition that the Figures were in a
 greater length and coloured, and exposed to
 the publick View in the Porch of *St. Seve-*
rin's Church-Yard; till at last, at the reiterated
 Complaints and Instances of the *English* Embas-
 sador, the King obtained with great ado of the
 Seditious Church-Wardens to have them re-
 moved (s).

CIXII.
Assembly
at Join-
ville.

The Duke of *Guise* had held an Assembly of
 the chief Leaguers at *Joinville* on the 31st of
 December

December last, wherein he had renewed the se-^{Henry III.}
cret Alliance with *Spain, Tassis* and the Com-^{1585.}
mander *Moreo* acting in *Philip's* Name. It ^{Pope Gre-}
was agreed to acknowledge *Charles* Cardinal ^{gory XIII}
of *Bourbon* as King of *France* after the Decease
of the present King; to cause the Council of
Trent to be published and received in the King-
dom; to restore *Cambray* to the King of *Spain*;
to exclude all Hereticks, and Relapse now and
in the future from the Succession to the Crown;
to suffer but the only Catholick Religion in the
Kingdom; to destroy all to one those who
should profess any other Religion; to assist
with all their Might the King of *Spain* in the
Recovery of the *Low Countries*, and in the Re-
duction of his rebellious Subjects; to renounce
all Alliances with the *Turks*. In consideration
of these things the King of *Spain* promised to ^{Their}
pay fifty thousand Ducats per Month towards ^{Treaty.}
the Charge of the War as long as it should last.
That League was to be perpetual between the
said King and his Heirs, and the Catholick
Princes and their Heirs, for the Kingdom of
France and the *Low Countries*, and the said
King engaged himself to advance as much
Money, as should be requisite for the promoting
of Religion, and the Preservation of the illust-
rious Houses of the Leaguers; no foreign Ca-
tholick Prince could be admitted in the League
but by their common Consent; *Philip* nor
the Catholick Princes could not treat directly
or indirectly with the MOST CHRISTIAN
KING, or do any thing to the Prejudice of the
League without the mutual Consent of all. The
said Treaty was to be kept secret till such a
time, when they should think proper to make
it publick. Lastly, it was agreed to leave places
blank for the Dukes of *Mercaur* and *Nevers*

Henry III. who were absent, to set down their Names.
 1585. Two Copies were made of the said Instrument,
Pope Gregory XIII. one for King *Philip*, and another for Cardinal
 of *Bourbon*, who were to set their Names and
 Seals unto them.

Such were the Causes and the Beginnings of that over-hastened War. For while the King, as abovesaid, waited for the Deputies of the States, whom he had desired to come secretly to *Paris*, *Mendoza* the *Spanish* Ambassador, did all he could to hinder his Majesty from giving them Audience, sparing not threatnings in the Speech he made to the King on that purpose; whereat his Majesty being provoked, returned an Answer suitable to his Dignity, but which was not supported by Actions as it ought to have been; whereupon the said Ambassador without any loss of time hurried the Duke of *Guise* into the Execution of these Plots long before premeditated (t).

They make
 Preparations for
 War.

The said Duke dispatched immediately to his Associates, to be ready to rise in Arms at a short warning; the Jesuit *Matthew*, nicknamed THE COURIER OF THE LEAGUE, went post to *Rome*, the *Pope* granted him a free Pardon for the Leaguers, he had decided already that *it is lawful to rise in arms against one's Sovereign for the good of the Catholick Church*. From *Rome* the Jesuit went to *Switzerland*, and *Lisler* a Man of great Authority and Credit in the Catholick Cantons promised him six thousand *Switzers* for the Service of the *League*.

Tho' the King was fully informed of all these Demeanours, nevertheless he opposed only a bit of Parchment to the Sword of his rebellious Subjects; he published an Edict on the

29th

29th of *March*, whereby he forbade to make any Levies of Troops within or without the Kingdom without his Orders.

Henry III.
1585.
Pope Gre-
gory XIII.

On the 31st of the same Month Cardinal of *Bourbon* published a Declaration or Manifesto, wherein he assumed the Title of first Prince of the Blood: it contained a List of the foreign Princes who had entered into the League. The

CLXIII.
Cardinal
of Bour-
bon's De-
claration.

Pope, the Emperor, and all the Princes of the *German-Austrian* Branch, the King of *Spain*, the Electors of *Mentz* and *Cologn*, the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Ferrara*, *Cleves*, *Parma*, the great Master of *Maltba*, the Republicks of *Genoa* and *Lucca*, and the Duke of *Florence*, to whom the Duke of *Lorraine* joined himself afterwards, being flattered with the Hopes of recovering by that means the three Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*. The Conclusion of that Manifesto was, that they had sworn to use all forcible means for restoring the Church to its pristine Dignity, and the only true Catholick Religion; the Nobility to its ancient Rights and Privileges; to ease the People from all Taxes and Imposts introduced since *Charles IX.* to maintain the Parliaments in their Prerogatives; and the General States, when assembled, in their Authority. Upon that several Lords and Gentlemen left the Court and went to the Chief of the League (v).

Tho' the most Christian King seem'd at first to take vigorous Measures for suppressing that Rebellion, for which purpose he had given proper Orders for raising Troops in *Germany* and *Switzerland*, nevertheless the wisest sort of People foresaw very well that he would not continue long in the same Resolution, and that he would redeem his Rest and Quietness, even at

CLXIV.
Measures
of the Re-
formed
Party.

Henry III. the price of his own Honour and Authority.

1585. Therefore many of the Reformed Party were
 Pope Gre- of Opinion that they ought to rise up in arms,
 gory XIII and to seize upon as many Places as they could
 while the King should be busied elsewhere.

But *Du Plessis* opposed that Proposition, and it was resolved in the King of *Navarre's* Council to delay to the last Extremity to begin Hostilities ; but in the mean while to prepare themselves against any Surprize, and for that end to fortify their Places, to provide them with all sorts of Ammunition, to solicit their Allies, to send every where some proper Persons within and without the Kingdom, and not to desist for any Order that may come from Court to the contrary. *De Segur* was dispatched again into *England, Scotland, Denmark* and to the *German* Princes, with proper Instructions and full Powers for treating with the said Potentates. *De Clervant* was sent to Court to offer the King of *Navarre's* and the Reformed their most humble and faithful Services to his Majesty against the rebellious Leaguers ; the Prince of *Condé* and the Duke of *Montmorancy*, formerly *Damville*, were desired to meet together for considering the proper means of procuring their mutual preservation (u).

CLXV.
*The Duke
 of Guise
 takes the
 Field.*

Now the Duke of *Guise* took the field with only 4 or 5000 Men. *De Ludieu* Deputy Governour of *Verdun* was forced to surrender, the Mob having risen in arms at the Instigation of some seditious Leaguers that were in the Duke of *Lorraine's* Interest, crying up through the Town, that Religion was in danger, that *De Ludieu* was about introducing the *Hugonots* into the Town for destroying the Catholics ; *Toul* was seized at the same time by a like Stratagem.

The

(u) Vie de M. Du Plessis Liv. i. p. 85.

The Duke of *Guise* flattered himself to seize *Henry III.* *Metz* in the same manner, but he miscarried in the Attempt through the Fidelity and Courage of *Tageant*, whom the Duke of *Espernon* had put Governour therein. Being disappointed, he entered *Champaign* with an Army of twelve thousand Men.

In *Provence*, *Devins* caused that Province to rebel against the King in behalf of the Leaguers; *Daries* second Consul of *Marseilles* and *Boniface Cabanes* seized that City for them. But they were so vigorously charged by *Bouquier*, that they were routed, taken and hanged the very same Day. The City was obliged to beg pardon of the King and of the Parliament of *Aix*, having been declared Rebels by the said Parliament. These things happened in *April*.

In the beginning of *May*, *Mandelot* Governour of *Lyons*, having cunningly engaged *Du Passage* to come out of the Citadel, whereof he was Commander, seized the same for the *League* and caused it to be pulled down. But on the other hand, the Marshal of *Matignon* play'd the same trick upon *Vaillac* Commander of the *Castle Trompet* at *Bourdeaux*, and seized it for the King. That Prince, instead of attacking vigorously the Rebels, published his Apology, daring not even so much as to name them, he promised his Royal Favour to every one who should renounce the *League* and all other Associations.

At the same time the Duke of *Guise* had brought Cardinal of *Bourbon* from *Peronne* to *Chaalons* upon *Marne* with a great Retinue; and a Conference was opened few Days after between the said Cardinal, the Duke of *Guise*, and the *Queen Mother* who was come
for

Henry III. for that purpose to *Espernay*, a few Miles distant from *Chaalons* (x).

1585.
Pope Gregory XIII.

The said Duke had carried his Insolence to that Degree, as to cause his Emissaries at Court to whisper in the King's Ear, that he might treat with him upon some reasonable Terms.

CLXVII.
Conference with the Leaguers.

Whereupon his Majesty tho' exasperated at that Insolence, nevertheless postponing his own Honour to his Sloth, intreated his Mother to take that care upon herself, which she did with a great deal of pleasure, tho' to remove all manner of Suspicion she feigned some reluctance at first: she was attended by *Lewis De Lansac*, *Peter Brulart* one of the Secretaries of State, and *Peter d'Espinaç* Archbishop of *Lyons* who supported the League in secret; he had professed in his Youth the Reformed Religion, but had abjured, and was become one of their most outrageous Enemies: whether he was in earnest or not, it is not certain, but he did it to get a Cardinal's Hat, whereof he was exceedingly ambitious. As to the rest, he was learned and eloquent, and so lavish and profuse that he had squandered away not only his own Patrimony but the Estates of his own Relations, and sought only an Opportunity of retrieving his Fortune and growing rich by some new Disturbances and Commotions (y).

The Conference was attended with many long and tedious Debates, during which the Leaguers Troops were assembled; the Duke did it on purpose to make a Shew of his Forces, to the end that the King being frightened by the Greatness of the Danger, he should be brought to a necessity of coming to a Treaty with him. For his Majesty was unwilling to treat with them before they had disarmed, lest

it

(x) Thuanus ubi supra.

(y) Idem ibid.

it should seem that they had forced him to grant ^{Henry III.} their Demands; but on the contrary the Lea- ^{1585.} guers declared that they would lay down their ^{Pope Gre-} Lives rather than their Arms, before an irre- ^{gory XIII.} conciliable War against the Reformed should have been declared. Therefore they required ^{Their De-} to have an Edict, whereby the only Catholick ^{mands.} Religion should be suffered in the Kingdom, exclusively to all other; that the Sectaries should be deprived of their Dignities and publick Offices, and declared unworthy to hold any for the future in the Kingdom: That the King should cause the said Edict to be published in all the Parliaments, and bind himself by a solemn Oath to see it executed in all its Intents and Purposes; that the Princes of the Blood, the Peers of the Realm, the Officers of the Crown, the Governours of Provinces and all others who held any publick Offices should take the same Oath; that the Cautionary Towns should be taken by force out of the Reformed's hands, if they refused to surrender them; that the King should renounce the Protection of *Geneva*. And whereas so many Edicts had been made heretofore in behalf of the Roman Catholick Religion, and had not been put in execution, they required that it should be now enacted that the King, without any further delay, shall make use of the Forces of the League and others which he should raise immediately for putting the present Edict in execution. Upon these Terms the *Leaguers* were ready, as they say, to desist from the Cautionary Towns which they had formerly demanded for their own Security, and to resign of their own accord their Governments and Dignities if the King would have it so. This they added to dazzle the People's Eyes and make them believe that they had nothing

elie

Henry III. else at heart but the Glory of God and the
 1585. Welfare of the Church ; for they knew very
 Pope Gre- well before hand, that they would not be taken
 gory XIII. at the word. That Request was subscribed on-
 ly by Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the Duke of
Guise.

CLXVIII. The next Day the King of *Navarre* unwill-
The King ing to bear any longer the Calumnies of his E-
of Na- nemies the Leaguers, who stiled him in their
varre's Writings, an *Heretick, Relapse, Enemy to the*
Declara- *Church, Persecutor of the Catholicks, Disturber*
tion. *of the Publick Peace*, published his own Apo-
 logy at *Bergerac* ; wherein he sets forth, That
 as to Religion he knew not how he could be
 deemed an *Heretick*, since being void of all
 Ambition, and only sollicitous of his own Sal-
 vation, he believed sincerely whatever was
 taught in the holy Scripture, in the Apostle's
 Creed and that of the Ancient Fathers whereby
 the Orthodox were distinguished from Hereticks;
 that he detested all Opinions condemned by the
 Word of *God*, by the Decrees of the ancient
 Orthodox Fathers, and Councils. But that
 for several Ages past it had been the general
 Cry of many, that many things there was ei-
 ther in the Doctrine or in the Discipline of the
 Church that were corrupted and wanted a Re-
 formation ; and that those who by their Call
 were obliged to procure it having neglected
 their Duty, from thence proceeded that Schism
 which rented the Church for so many Years.
 That he was born at such times when *Germany*
 and *France* were miserably torn into pieces by
 the Civil Wars kindled upon that account ;
 that it had been thought that no better Reme-
 dy could be found for healing these Diseases,
 than a lawful and free Council, wherein the
 Matters controverted should be fully debated
 and

and impartially resolved. That the Kings of ^{Henry III.} *France* had granted several Edicts for the Liberty of Conscience, which had procured Peace to the Kingdom, when observed and kept, but their Violation had brought nothing else but Trouble and Confusion. That as to what is said that these matters had been decided by the Council of *Trent*, that was much questioned by himself and many others, who knew very well that that Council was neither lawfully convened, nor proceeded it fairly; for which Causes the *French* Embassadors had Orders from the King to protest against and to withdraw from it. Therefore the King of *Navarre* could not be deemed an obstinate Heretick, since he desired no better than to be shewn his Errors, and was ready to submit himself to the Decision of a free Council, wherein the Reformed should be heard impartially and without being molested. Neither could he be deemed a *Relapse*, since he had always persevered in the same Doctrine for tho' he changed in 1572 and sent an Embassy to the *Pope* in order to be reconciled to the Church, every one knows by what motives he acted then; to be sure it was not by Persuasion but by Force, and for avoiding greater temporal Inconveniences, therefore he had no sooner recovered his Liberty in 1576, but he improved the first Opportunity for being reconciled to the reformed Church, tho' he was very sensible of the great Mischief he would draw upon himself by taking such a Step: since that time he had been steadfast in his profession, without being moved by any consideration soever of his private Interest for deviating from the same. As to his Behaviour towards the Catholics, he appealed to the Duke of *Montpensier* and other Princes and Lords, great

Sticklers

1585.
Pope Gregory XIII.

Henry III. Sticklers for the Roman Catholick Religion, to
 1585. testify whether after their strict Inquiry of his
 Pope Gre- Conduct in that respect at *Agen* and elsewhere,
 gory XIII. they had heard of any complaint of his being
 partial and dealing unfairly with the Catholicks; he appealed to his own Catholick Subjects, either Ecclesiasticks or Laymen whether they were in any respect loaded with heavier Taxes or Imposts than the rest of his Subjects, whether they did not enjoy the same Rights, Liberties, and Privileges as granted by the Laws of the Country? he appealed to his own Household whether the Catholicks in his Service could complain of any Hardship put upon them, of any ill usage received on account of their Religion, of any Injustice done unto them; from whence he rightly inferred, that that Charge brought against him, of being an Enemy to the Catholick Church, and a Persecutor of the Catholicks was a meer Calumny. As to the other Charge, of being a Disturber of the publick Peace, how could that be, seeing, that he had been always ready to accept of any Terms whenever there has been some reasonable Provisions for Liberty of Conscience? As to the Conference of *Magdebourg* wherein they pretended that it had been resolved, that the King of *Navarre* should renew the War with *France* in *April* next; the Falshood and Impudence of that Charge was very plain and obvious to every one; since they supposed that the said Conference was held in *December* last, and that the *Elektor Palatine* and the Prince of *Orange* were present at it: Now every one knew that the said Elektor and the said Prince of *Orange* had been dead several Months before *December* last. His *Navarrese* Majesty don't deny that he sent Monsieur *De Segur* as his Embassador to the
 Queen

Queen of England, to the King of Denmark Henry III.
 and to the Protestant Princes of Germany; but 1585.
 upon what account, and what his Charge and Pope Six-
 Instructions were, it was not a Secret to *His Most* tus V.
Christian Majesty, whom he had taken care to
 inform before-hand of the Plots they were
 hatching against his Crown and Government,
 and of the means he thought the properest for
 defeating their wicked and pernicious Designs.
 That he appeal'd to the abovesaid Potentates,
 and intreated them in the Name of God to de-
 clare publicly whether his Embassador had been
 any further with them than what he sayeth; the
 Particulars whereof he specifies, adding that it
 is precisely what he had imparted by his Agents
 at Court to the Most Christian King. As to
 the Assembly held at *Montauban*, that Objec-
 tion; says he, don't deserve any Answer, see-
 ing that it was held with his Most Christian
 Majesty's Leave, and that his Deputy *Pompone*
de Bellievre was present at their Consultation,
 to whom he appealed to certify whatever was
 transacted in the said Assembly. Then he re-
 turns the Charge upon them, and wonders at
 their Impudence, seeing that having so many
 Governments in their own Possession, having
 already declared War against their King with
 terrible Threatning, they were so bold as to
 demand imperiously over and above the Go-
 vernments of *Normandy*, *Picardy*, *Lyonnese*,
 the *Marquisat* of *Saluces*, *Metz*, *Toul*, and
Verdun, to be distributed amongst their Rela-
 tions and Friends, and took amiss when the
 Reformed, the Objects of their utmost Hatred
 and Violences, surrounded every where with
 threatening Dangers, had most humbly petition-
 ed the King to grant them a few Cautionary
 Towns for a little longer time than had been

Henry III. agreed to at first. From whence it was plain, ^{1585.} that the Accusers were themselves the very *Pope Six-* Persons guilty of the Crimes they lay upon the *tus V.* charge of others. Therefore he begs the King's Leave to declare publickly that they who spread such Calumnies against him, lye falsly and wickedly; furthermore he beseeches most humbly the King, that in order to spare the shedding of so much innocent Blood, and other Miseries attending unavoidably a Civil War, to give him leave to challenge the said *De Guise* to decide their Quarrel by a Duel with two or more Tenants, as it shall be agreed between them, and at a Place within the Kingdom appointed by the King himself; or if they like better without the Kingdom, at some secure Place which he the said *Guise* shall chuse himself: That the said *Guise* could not decline such a Challenge, so honourable to himself, considering the vast disproportion there was between him and a King of *Navarre*, a first Prince of the Blood. That for the rest he trusted himself unto God the Defender of Innocence, and the just Avenger of Wrong and Calumny (z).

The Most Christian King read this Apology with a great deal of Pleasure, and especially the generous Challenge of the King of *Navarre* to the Duke of *Guise*. But notwithstanding that Apology, and the free and strong Remonstrances of the renowned *Francis of Noailles* Bishop of *Aix*, whom the King had desired to hear in private, and had bid him speak plainly and freely his own mind concerning the Protection of the *Low Countries*, whether he advised him to undertake it or not; notwithstanding the Conviction of his own Conscience, nevertheless he suffered himself to be carried away by the base and corrupted Ad-


vices

vices of his Mother and of his Privy Council, Henry III.^{1585.} who persuaded him to grant all the dishonourable Terms which the bold Leaguer imposed upon him. *Pope Sixtus V.*

Accordingly he published an Edict on the 18th of July, whereby he repealed all the former Edicts granted in behalf of his Reformed Subjects, and it was enacted that the only Roman Catholick Religion should be suffered in the Kingdom; punishing with Death and Forfeiture of Goods whoever should profess any other after a certain limited time; ordering upon the same penalty all Ministers to leave the Kingdom in a Month's time after the publishing the said Edict, and all others after six Months in case they should refuse to change, granting them however the Liberty of disposing of their Goods moveable or immoveable; declaring all those of the said Reformed Religion of what Rank or Quality soever unworthy of holding any Office or Employment; abrogating the Chambers parted in two or three in the Parliaments of the Kingdom instituted in behalf of the said Reformed; commanding that the Cautionary Towns should be surrendered without any delay; forbidding all Persons of the said Religion of what Rank or Condition soever, to use any force on pretence of the said Edict; forgiving whatever had been done of late by the Chief of the *League* within or without the Kingdom, as being done out of a true Zeal for the Good and Welfare of the Catholick Church; lastly, commanding all Persons to swear the Observation of the said Edict which is declared PERPETUAL and IRREVOCABLE (a).

That Edict extorted of the King was read and published in Parliament, present his Majesty

F f 2

Henry III. ^{1585:} *Pope Sixtus V.*  jesty and the Members clothed in purple Gowns for rendering the Action more solemn: Many fretted thereat, saying that they ought rather to be cloathed with black as in a publick Mourning; but others took that as an Omen of the Wars and other great Mischiefs wherewith the said Edict would be attended in general. While the foolish Mob huzza'd the King as he came out from the Parliament, the best and wisest sort were sadly concerned for what he had done, foreseeing nothing else but the utmost Miseries and dreadful Calamities, and cursing in their hearts the boundless Ambition of *De Guise* and the Baseness and Perfidiousness of the King's Privy Council (*b*).

Secret Articles.

Besides that Edict, the King granted the Leaguers some private Articles, *viz.* that several Cautionary Towns should be kept and entertained with Garrisons, &c. at his own Charge; these Towns were *Chaalons*, and *St. Didier* in *Champaign*, *Soissons* in the *Isle of France*, *Rheims* in *Vermandois*, (a Province of *Champaign*) *St. Esprit de Ruë* in *Picardy*, *Dinant* and *Conquerneau* in *Brittany*, the Town and Castle of *Dijon* in *Burgundy*, with the Castle of *Beaune*, *Verdun* and *Toul*; the Government of these Places was to be put in their own or their Adherents hands: besides that the King was to pay them two hundred thousand Crowns for the Expenses they had been at, for raising foreign Troops in their late Insurrection (*c*).

During all the Time from the beginning of this unnatural Rebellion to the publication of this Edict, the Duke of *Guise* under the name of Cardinal of *Bourbon*, had diverted from their Loyalty several of the best Cities, by the means of his Emissaries; almost all the Clergy adhered

to

(*b*) Ibid.


(*i*) Ibid. p. 28.

him, because Religion was the Pretence, whereof Henry III. he made use for covering his Wickedness; the 1585. common People, much addicted to their old Superstitions, ran mad every where in the Towns and in the Country; their Priests and Preachers, most part whereof had been bribed with the Gold of *Spain*, incensed them by their seditious Speeches. The Lords and Nobility retained still a better Sense of their Duty; nevertheless some of them dreading the punishment deserved for their Crimes, or sunk in Debts or led by a Spirit of Party, followed the *Guise's* Faction; but many others detested it as a Plague and were faithful to the King, some even who had engaged themselves inconsiderately in that Party, touched with a Remorse of Conscience, forsook it entirely.

Pope Sixtus V.

Such was the Duke of *Nevers*, who feeling some Scruples about the Lawfulness of their Proceeding, opened himself to Father *Matthew* above mentioned, desiring to know whether the *Pope* approved of these Proceedings; to which the Jesuit answered positively, that the Pope did not only approve of them, but that he would publish a Bull for confirming the *League* with his own Authority as soon as they should have proceeded a little further. The Duke requiring that he should give him some Evidence of what he said, the *Jesuit* went post to *Rome*, but instead of a Bull he brought nothing else but some Credentials directed to the said Duke, whereby he was exhorted not to be over-scrupulous in that matter; that he ought to be sensible that it would be a very improper thing to publish now a Bull in behalf of the *League*, which would afford the Protestants and Reformed of *Germany* and *Switzerland* a just Pretence to league themselves together in their common Defence, therefore he ought to

CLXX.
The Duke
of Nevers
renounces
the League.

Henry III. take care lest for his own sake the Affairs of the
 1585. Catholick Church should be ruined. Well, says
 Pope Six- the Duke, if the Pope doth not think proper to
 tus V.  confirm the League by a publick Bull, at least
 let him be pleased to send me his Opinion in a
 Letter written with his own Hand, and I do
 promise upon my word not to show the said
 Letter to any body. *Matthew* surprized at this
 unexpected Answer, went post again to *Rome*,
 but at his return he told the Duke that he could
 not obtain what he had desired, because the
 Pope said that should he grant his Request,
 he would be obliged to grant the same to every
 one who would require it; by which means,
 what he intended to keep secret for a certain
 time, would become publick immediately.
 Then says the Duke, at least let the Pope send
 a Brief to his Legate at *Avignon* with Orders to
 give me the Reading of it, whereby my Scruples
 might be resolved. Thereupon the Jesuit took
 Post again and went to *Rome*, but as he brought
 nothing from that Place whereby the Duke's
 Conscience could be satisfied, he began to sus-
 pect the Cheat, and resolved to go himself to
Rome; he took his way through *Avignon* in or-
 der to confer with the *Pope's* Legate, of whom
 receiving no positive Answer, he wrote to Car-
 dinal of *Bourbon*, and let him know that he re-
 nounced the *League*, being not at all satisfied in
 his own Conscience as to the Lawfulness there-
 of; then he continued his Journey.

He found that *Gregory XIII.* was deceased
 since the 14th of *April*, and the renowned *Fel-
 ix Peretti*, Cardinal of *Montalte* was elected in
 his stead, who took the Name of *Sixtus V.* This
 Pope having been better informed by him, of
 the Nature, Proceedings, and Designs of the
 Leaguers, was less favourable unto them than
 his

his Predecessor had been, for he would never assist them with Money or Troops; only he hastened at their Importunities the publishing of an Excommunication, which he fulminated against the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, and caused it to be affixed in the usual Places at Rome on the 21st of September, subscribed by 25 Cardinals.

Henry III.
1585.
Pope Sixtus V.

Therein he declared HENRY formerly King of NAVARRE, and HENRY Prince of CONDE, whom he stiled a BASTARD AND DETESTABLE GENERATION OF THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS HOUSE OF BOURBON, Hereticks, Abettors and Protectors of Heresy; and as such having incurred the Censures of the Church, and the Penalty ordered by the sacred Canons; therefore they were deprived of all their Lordships, Demesnes and Dignities, and rendered incapable to succeed to any Principality, especially to the Crown of France; he unbound his Subjects of their Oath of Allegiance, forbidding them to pay them any Obedience, or else they would be liable to the same Excommunication.

CLXXI.
The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé excommunicated.

That bold Attempt which, as it seemed at first, would prove fatal to the two Princes, proved to be the reverse; for not only the Reformed, but the Catholicks themselves, took occasion, from thence, to inquire strictly what authority the Popes had over the Sovereigns; and found that, by the Councils and the sacred Canons of the Church, it was not such as the Court of Rome did boast: Besides that, it afforded to the two Princes an opportunity of shewing their great Courage and Magnanimity, for they or their Friends affixed a Paper to the Statues of Marforio and Pasquin and other publick Places at Rome, whereby they gave the lye to Sixtus V. setting up himself for Pope,

Effects thereof.

Henry III. charging him with being an Heretick himself ;
 1585. and declaring that he was ready to make good
Pope Six- that Charge against him in a free Council law-
tus V. fully assembled, at which if he don't appear, he
 takes him for an Anti-Christ and a Schismatick,
 and as such he declares an irreconcilable War
 against him: That if the Kings his Predecessors
 have always punished the Temerity of those
 Scoundrels, like this *Sixtus V.* who, going be-
 yond their authority, have attempted any thing
 upon them, he hopes that, with the help of
 God, he shall not prove inferior to them in any
 such thing, and that he will be the Avenger of
 the injury done to the King and Royal Family,
 to the Princes of the Blood, and the Parliaments
 of the Kingdom, upon himself and his Suc-
 cessors. For which purpose he begs the Help
 and Assistance of all Kings, Princes, Common-
 wealths and Cities, who may be concerned in
 this Affair, and may dread the Consequences
 thereof if it goes unpunished ; and he desires all
 Friends and Allies of the Crown of *France* to
 join their Forces with his against the Tyranny
 and Usurpations of the Pope and of the Leaguers,
 the common Enemies of God, King and Kingdom,
 and of all *Christendom*. A like Writing was af-
 fixed at the same Time and Places, that is the 6th
 of *November*, in the Prince of *Condé's* Name (*d*).

Many admired the Boldness of the Under-
 takers, several applauded and praised their Zeal
 and Courage ; the Pope himself, who was a
 witty and discerning Man, after having made
 in vain, all the search and enquiry after the
 Authors thereof, could not refuse his Esteem
 to the King of *Navarre*, and to conceive a good
 Opinion of his prosperous Success ; and after
 that he was wont to say, that he knew but two
 Persons in the whole World worthy to wear
 the

the Crown, was it not for their Heresy, and Henry III. that he would have imparted to them very im-^{1585.} portant Secrets, had not the same Cause put an ^{Pope Six-} insuperable Obstacle to his good Will: these ^{tus V.} two Persons were, as he said, Queen *Elizabeth* and the King of *Navarre* (e).

This Prince had been exactly informed of CLXXII. the Treaty that was on foot with the Leaguers ^{Union of} against him, by his Agents at the Court of ^{the King of} France, and having tried in vain to ward off ^{Navarre} the Blow, by an expostulatory Letter he wrote ^{with the} to the King at the beginning of *July*, he con- ^{Duke of} cluded a Treaty of Alliance with the Duke of ^{Montmo-} *Montmorancy* Governor of *Languedoc*.

That Lord had been strongly solicited by the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to side with the League, and had been offered very advantageous Terms. Indeed if he had accepted them, I don't know whether that would not have proved the total ruin of the Royalists, considering the Greatness, Credit, and Riches of his House, and the vast Extent of his Government; but luckily for the Kingdom, his Hatred against the Duke of *Guise*, the Hypocrisy and Ambition whereof were perfectly well known unto him, prevailed above all other Considerations; nay, he exhorted the Cardinal to beware of the Flatteries and base Adulations of the *Guises*, who made use of his Name for compassing the Ruin and Destruction of the whole Royal Family.

So being exhorted by the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé* to join his Forces with their own, for the Defence and Support of the King and Kingdom of *France*, he met these two Princes at *St. Paul* in *Lauragais*, after the Publication of the Edict above-mentioned, on the 10th of *August*. They agreed to publish a
Decla-

Henry III. Declaration and Protest against the Treaty lately concluded with those of the House of Lorrain, Chiefs, Authors, and Abettors of the League, to the prejudice of the House of France; which was subscribed by the two Princes and the said Duke of Montmorancy. Then, after having settled what concerned the Management of the War, the Duke set out for Languedoc; and the King of Navarre and Prince of Condé returned in Guienne (f).

CLXXIII. The next Day after the publishing of this Declaration, the Most Christian King, who about two Months before, had ordered his Receiver General in Poitou to get together a great Quantity of Corn, Oats, and Wine, for the Subsistence of an Army he designed to send thither, sent for the two first Presidents of the Parliament, the Provost of the Merchants, and the Dean of Our Lady's Church, to come to the Louvre, and said to them severally in presence of the Cardinal of Guise; I am glad that, by your Advice, I have repealed the last Edict of Pacification, granted in behalf of the Reformed, tho' much against my Opinion; not that I had less Zeal for the Catholick Religion than heretofore, but because I have learn'd, by Experience, that such Things are always attended with almost insuperable Difficulties. Nevertheless, as it is a Thing resolved and done, I hope that you will enable me to pursue, with success, the end for which it has been resolved; now I must keep three Armies on foot, one near my Person, another to act in Guienne, and the third upon the Frontiers for opposing the Passage of the German Army, which is upon march, or will be certainly very soon; and since you did not think proper to live in Peace as I advised you, don't think that I will take upon myself

myself the whole Burthen of the War; no, Henry III. 1585-
Pope Sixtus. V. but you the Presidents, since the Parliament has so heartily voted for the repealing of the late Edict, and had so earnestly intreated me to take in hand the Cause of Religion, I commend your Zéal; but then don't expect that I will ever hearken to any of your Remonstrances about your Pensions as long as the War will last; they shall be suppressed during the whole time of the War. You the *Provost* of the Merchants, know and acquaint thereof the Citizens to-morrow morning, that as to the annual Rents paid out of the publick Treasury, since they have been so glad of the repealing of my former Edicts, I want two hundred thousand Crowns for the present Exigencies, and expect that they will pay them out of hand; for it appears, by the Accounts, that the Expences of this War amount to four hundred thousand Crowns a Month. Then, speaking to the Cardinal of *Guise*, with a frowning Countenance, I took care, says he, that the first Month's Expence should be paid out of my own and my friends Purse; but 'tis your Business to find all the rest as long as the War shall last, out of the Church-Rent, &c. &c. (This is but a faithful Abstract.) If that Prince had a mind to frighten these Persons by the Consideration of the vast Expences they would be at, on account of the War, he was much mistaken; many found fault with his having repeated so many times that it was against his Will; whereby he drew upon himself the Hatred of the Mob, always desirous of some new Change, and the Scorn of the *Guises*, the Fire-brands of this War: for having once experienced that the King could be forced with Impunity, to do Things against his own Will, they hence-forward set no bounds

Henry III. to their Impudence. O lamentable Condition
 1585. of Kings and Princes! that they should be put
 Pope Six- to a Necessity of dissembling and deceiving, so
 tus V. far as not to appear forced in any thing good or
 bad, even tho' they are so in the most violent
 manner (g).

CLXXIV His Most Christian Majesty very sensible that
He sends the War had been resolved, not only against his
an Embaf- own Will, but also against the positive Words
fy to the and Promises he had given and made to the
King of King of *Navarre*, thought proper to send him a
Navarre. most honourable Embassy, whereof the Cardinal
 of *Lenoncourt* was the chief, for excusing what
 he had done: for assuring his *Navarrese* Ma-
 jesty of the tender Affection the King had for
 him; for trying to bring him over to the Ca-
 tholick Religion; for demanding the Restitu-
 tion of the Cautionary Towns; and for propo-
 sing a Conference between him and the Queen-
 Mother, provided that the *German* Auxiliaries
 should delay their March.

CLXXV. To these Articles the King of *Navarre* an-
The King of swered, that he was very thankful for the tender
Navarre's Regard his Majesty was pleased to shew forth
Answer. for his Concerns; that he was very sorry he had
 not accepted of his Offers of Services, whereby
 so many Mischiefs would have been prevented;
 that, as to his Religion, his Majesty might
 judge himself whether it was just and honourable
 for him to renounce a Religion wherein he had
 been brought up, and wherein he could discern
 no Error; that however, he refused not to be
 better instructed in a free Council lawfully as-
 sembled; that as to the Cautionary Towns,
 it was in vain to demand them in the present
 Posture of Affairs, and that it would be but
 reasonable for the Reformed to petition the
 King

King for some more ; that as to the Conference with the Queen-Mother, if their Majesties were in earnest and would order the Troops that were beyond the *Loire* to retreat elsewhere, he would go himself as far as *Bergerac* where they would agree about a Place of Conference ; but that he could not, for all that, retard the least in the World, the March of the *German Auxiliaries*, that came as much for the Service of his Most Christian Majesty, as for assisting the innocent Reformed under their dismal Circumstances ; and as to the Suspension of the publick Exercise of the Reformed Religion, that Article was quite contrary to the Edicts freely published in their behalf upon that account, which had been repealed but by another forcibly extorted from his Majesty, and therefore it could be granted by no means.

Henry III.
1585.
Pope Six-
tus V.

So the Embassadors went back without Success ; and whereas the Conference with the Queen-Mother had been proposed only for protracting the Time, it was put off till another Year, because they certainly knew that the Auxiliaries of *Germany* were not so soon ready to take the Field as it had been imagined (*b*).

The news being brought to Court that the Reformed had begun Hostilities in *Guienne*, *Languedoc*, *Dauphiné*, &c. where they had seized several Towns and Castles, the Chiefs of the *League* forced the King to publish a new Edict against them more severe than the former, commanding them to renounce their Religion in a Fortnight, on pain of Death ; the Goods and Estates of those who had risen in arms were forfeited, to discharge the Expences of the War. That Edict was strictly executed in many Places ; which unseasonable Severity served only

CLXXVI
A new
Edict a-
gainst the
Reformed.

(*b*) Thuan. Tom. IV. Lib. lxxxi. p. 30. 31.

Henry III. only to exasperate them the more, and to encourage them to arm themselves in their own just Defence.

1585.
Pope Six-
tus V.

The King of *Navarre*, by the advice of his Privy-Council, published a like Edict against the Catholicks of his own Dominions, dated at *Bergerac* the 30th of *November*.

CLXXVII. The Duke of *Mercœur*, who had begun the
Several War in *Poitou*, with a Body of 2000 Men, was
Occurren- surprized by the Prince of *Condé*, and obliged
ces of the to retire in great Disorder from the Suburb of
four last *Fontenay le Comte*, commonly called *Les Loges*,
Months of leaving behind him most part of his Baggage,
this Year. and many Soldiers killed on the spot. The
same Prince besieged *Brouage*, and would have
taken it in a short time, had it not been for a
great Imprudence whereby he deprived himself
of a certain Victory for running after a Shadow.
For while he was before that Place, he received
the News that the Castle of *Angers* had
been surprized by Captain *Rochemorte*, where-
upon, without waiting for a Confirmation,
or inquiring any further into that Affair, he
marched, on the 8th of *October*, with part of
the Army to the Relief of *Rochemorte*; but
being arrived before *Angers* on the 20th of the
same Month, he found, to his great surprize,
that the said Captain had been killed, that the
Castle had surrendred itself to the Duke of
Joyeuse's Lieutenant, and what was more sad for
his Highness, that it was almost impossible for
him to escape, being surrounded every where by
the Dukes of *Joyeuse*, *Espernon*, *Mayenne* and the
Marshal of *Biron's* Troops. Whereupon he
dispersed his own Troops by small Divisions of
ten, fifteen, or twenty Men at the most, who
escaped almost miraculously, without any shed-
ding of Blood, and he himself went through
some By-Ways into *Low-Normandy*, from
whence

whence he came over to *Guernsey*. In the mean while the Siege of *Brouage* was raised at the approach of Marshal of *Matignon* (j). On the other hand the Count of *Laval* obliged the said Marshal to raise the Siege of *Taillebourg*. In *Dauphiné* *Les Diguieres* with a handful of Men, but all Soldiers stout and brave, carried Fright and Terror every where, his only Name was as good as an Army, Victory marched under his Standards, and good Success attended him every where; in a few days he besieged or assailed and took *Die*, *Embrun*, *Montelimar*, *Chorge*, and some other Places of less moment (i).

Henry III.
1585.
Pope Six-
tus V.

At the beginning of this Year the King had six Armies on foot under the Command of six CLXXVIII. Generals, the Dukes of *Guise*, of *Mayenne*, of *Joyeuse*, of *Espernon*, and the Marshals of *Matignon*, and of *Biron*; the first acted in *Champaign*, *Burgundy*, and other Provinces upon the Frontier; the second in *Guienne*; the third in the Provinces upon, and on this side the *Loire*; the fourth in *Provence* and *Dauphiné*, and the two last in *Poitou*. But his Majesty had given secret Orders to *Espernon* and *Matignon* to oppose under hand as much as possible the Designs and Progress of the League.

1586.
The King
had six
Armies on
foot.

I don't intend to give a particular Account of the Operations of these six Armies, their Encounters, Fights, Sieges, taking and retaking of Places, &c. that don't belong properly to my Subject. The Reformed were not concerned in this War, considered as Reformed, but as Royalists firmly adhering to the Interest of the Royal Blood. Therefore I shall confine my self to a brief Narration of the principal Events of this War to the latter end of this Reign.

So

(j) Idem Ibid.

(i) Vide Hist. du Connetable de *Les Diguieres* Liv. ii. ch. 5, 6, 7.

Henry III. So many Armies destined against the Re-
 1586. formed put at first the whole Party into a great
Pope Six- Consternation, and caused great Perplexities to
tus V. the King of *Navarre's* Council: That Prince
 CLXXIX. assembled his most private Counsellors, to
The King consider what was to be done in the present E-
of Na- mergency. They were divided in three seve-
varre's ral Opinions, the first was, that that Prince
great Per- should cross the Sea and come over to *England*,
plexities. from thence to proceed to the *Low Countries*
 and *Germany* with very few Attendants, and
 even these to be some of his most confident,
 for soliciting Queen *Elizabeth* and the Prote-
 stant Princes of those Countries to hasten the
 powerful Succours they had promised him,
 that he might come back into *France* at the
 Head of a strong Army; which Opinion was
 rejected. The second was proposed by *Rosny*
 (afterwards Duke of *Sully*) and was to this pur-
 port, to provide all the strong Places of *Guienne*
 and of the adjacent Countries with able and ex-
 perienc'd Commandants, and with other things
 necessary for their defence; to establish a De-
 puty Governour over the whole, a Man of a
 Quality and Capacity sufficient to command the
 Respect and Submission of all those who should
 be under his Government; to see what Party
 the Duke of *Mayenne* will take, what his first
 Designs might be, and then with a good Troop
 of Horse to retire into *Rochelle*, which would
 be a good Place for securing his Person; that by
 that means he would give four Heads to his
 Party, one was himself and the Prince of *Condé*
 at *Rochelle* and the adjacent Places, the second
 the Duke of *Montmorancy* in *Languedoc*, the
 third the Lord of *Les Diguieres* in *Dauphiné*,
 and the fourth the Viscount of *Turenne* in
Guienne. Over and above which, if the Aux-
 iliary

liary Army which was expected, was well commanded by a Chief of great Credit and Experience, their Enemies, who were in hopes to compass their Ruin so easily, will find themselves much deceived in their Account. (Indeed *Du Plessis's* Biographer has exceedingly misrepresented *Rosni's* Opinion.) The third was *Du Plessis*. He sheweth forth that his Majesty ought to be stedfast to the Association lately made, whereof he had promised to be the Head, considering that he was upon a just Defence, that his own Dignity and Life, true Religion, Liberty of Conscience, whatever is dearest to a noble Soul lieth at the Stake. Therefore he ought to trust himself in God and expect from him his Deliverance; in a Word, he voted for remaining in *Guienne* (1).

Henry III
1586.
Pope Six-
tus V.

Du Plessis's Biographer pretends that the King, rejecting the two former Advices, adhered to this last. That is not true, but he joined both together, as it is plain enough, by his own Relation, that Prince stayed some time longer in *Guienne*, he went into *Bearn* to pay a visit to the Princess his Sister, he held a political Assembly of the Reformed Churches at *Montauban*, from whence being come back to *Bergerac* he went into *Xaintonge*, and from thence to *Rockelle* by the latter end of *April*, having left the Viscount of *Turenne* his Lieutenant-General in *Guienne*.

The Duke of *Mayenne's* Progress was but CLXXX. very inconsiderable; he took *Castels*, *Monsegur* and *St. Baseille*, after having besieged them in form; lost a great deal of Time and many of his Men; these small Advantages decided nothing: *Castillon* was likewise taken by him

The Duke of
Mayenne's
Progress.

V. III. PART II. G g after

(1) *Vie Du Plessis*, Liv. i. p. 93. 94, 95. *Mem. de Sully*, Tom I. p. 46.

Henry III. after two Months Siege, but was retaken by
 1586. the Viscount of *Turenne* a little after, in less
Pope Six- than two Hours, and with ten Pounds of Pow-
tus V. der, by means of a Petard. The Jealousies be-
 between the Duke of *Mayenne* and the Marshal of
Matignon, or rather the secret Orders which
 this last had received from Court, were of a great
 prejudice to the Army, commanded by the
 first; for nine Months together that great Cap-
 tain of the League performed no other Ex-
 ploits besides those above-mentioned: He
 wanted Money, for the Clergy, at the end of
 three Months, were tired of supplying him,
 and the Pope assisted him only with his
 Blessings. He stood in need of every thing,
 Provisions, Ammunition, &c. and had against
 him whatever may be conducive to ruin the
 Designs and Reputation of a Chief; frequent
 Mutinys amongst his Troops, Misunderstand-
 ing amongst his Officers, Jealousies and Mistrusts
 in his Colleague, and an inveterate Hatred a-
 gainst himself in the King's Privy-Council.
 To which it must be added, the great Heavi-
 ness and Slowness of the Duke himself, who was
 used to set longer at Table than the King of
Navarre lay in his Bed. All these things put
 together obliged the said Duke to ask his Dis-
 charge, and to insist upon it, notwithstanding
 the strong Remonstrances of the Duke of *Guise*,
 which he obtained at last, before the end of
 this Year (*m*).

CLXXXI While the Duke of *Mayenne* was in *Guienne*,
Guise's the Duke of *Guise* made use of the Army which
Progresi. he commanded upon the Frontiers of *Champaign*
 for seizing upon *Raucour* and *Donzy*, belong-
 ing to the Duke of *Bouillon*: On the other hand,
 the

the Duke of *Aumale* having armed the *Picards*, Henry III. who were very violent Leaguers, seized the ^{1586.} Towns of *Dourlens* and *Pontdormy*. ^{Pope Sixtus V.}

The Duke of *Joyeuse* having supplanted the Marshal of *Aumont*, obtained the Command of the Army destined against the Reformed and Politicians of *Auvergne*, *Vezelay* and *Givaudan*, but his Performances were but very indifferent this Campaign besides his taking of *Mendes*; and having ruined part of his Army in taking five or six little petty Towns, he put the Remainder into Winter-Quarters, and came back post to Court. ^{Joyeuse's Success.}

The Duke of *Espernon* succeeded something better in *Provence*, the Government whereof he had obtained, after the Death of the Great Prior of *Vendôme*, natural Son to King *Henry II.* who was killed at *Aix* by *Altoviti* a *Florentine* Gentleman, whom he had assaulted in his own Chamber and ran him through. There was a Gentleman in *Provence* whose Name was *Vins*; a great Stickler for the League, and consequently a great Enemy to the Reformed; he had with him a Body of about 4000 Men, horse and foot; with these Forces he went and besieged the Castle of *Allemagne*, the Lord whereof was as zealous for the Reformed as *Vins* was for the Catholicks; and whereas the Baron *d'Allemagne* was not strong enough to cope with *Vins*; he desired *Les Diguieres* his Kinsman to come to his Relief, which he did as soon as he could, and was so successful that *Vins* was routed with the loss of fifteen hundred Men besides many Prisoners; but the Baron of *Allemagne* reapt no Fruits of this Victory he being killed upon the spot. Now *d'Espernon* being arrived at this time in *Provence*, he took possession of his Government, and took *Merindol*,

Henry III. 1586. Pope Sixtus V. *Seyne la grand Tour*, the Fort of *Breolle* from the Reformed. Then having joined his Brother *Bernard de la Valette*, they besieged *Chorges* in *Dauphiné*, with an Army of 15000 Men and 14 Cannons; the Siege was long, at last the Place surrendered by an honourable Capitulation; most part of *d'Espernon's* Army perished before it, either by Sickness, or Cold, or for want of Provisions, or otherwise. But the victorious *Lefdiguieres* made very ample amends for that Loss, by the taking of several Places from the Enemies of a much greater Importance than *Chorges* was (*n*).

CLXXXII. The Protestant Cantons of *Switzerland*, before they sent their Auxiliaries to the King of *Navarre*, thought it to be their Duty to try whether they could not bring matters to an Agreement between the Most Christian King and his Reformed Subjects, for which purpose they sent a solemn Embassy to his Majesty; the King of *Denmark* sent likewise, upon the same account, *Breda de Ranzow*, they were very kindly received, his Majesty answered them, that nobody knew better than himself what was for the Good and Welfare of his Kingdom, that he would take care of it, and that nothing should be wanting on his part for cultivating a good Correspondence with his Neighbours and Allies, and for procuring Peace and Tranquillity in his own Kingdom. So they were dismissed.

Now the King understanding that the Embassadors of the Protestant Princes and free Cities of *Germany* were upon the Road, at the Head whereof were *Frederick* of *Wirtemberg*, Count of *Montbeliard*, and *Volfang* Count of *Issem-*

(*n*) Videl Hist. du Connet. De *Lefdiguieres* Liv. ii. Ch. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

Issembourg, he thought proper to set out from *Paris* before they could arrive, thinking that he would retard the Designs of their Principals as long as he should keep them in *France*; by the same Motive he desired the Queen-Mother to depart from *Paris*, she went to *Chenonceaux* in her way to the Place of Conference with the King of *Navarre*, and he himself went into *Bourbonnois* with a small Retinue, leaving in the City some proper Persons for receiving and entertaining the *German* Embassadors, for excusing his Majesty's Absence upon some Indisposition which had obliged him to go to the Bath; and for desiring them to wait for him till the Month of *October*, when the King would arrive and give them Audience (o).

Henry III.
1586.
Pope Six-
tus V:

The Embassadors arrived on the 5th of *August*; the King had been gone since the 23d of *July*; they were most honourably received, but few Days after, the Counts of *Montbeliard* and *Issembourg* thinking it to be a Thing unbecoming their Quality to wait so long for the King, having asked leave of his Majesty by their Letters, on pretence of some private Business which required their Presence, returned into *Germany*, leaving the other Embassadors with their Instructions for executing their Commission. At last, after several delays, the King being arrived from *Lyons*, gave them Audience at *St. Germain*; they spared nothing in their Speech in order to move his Majesty; nay, they upbraided him with Breach of his Faith inasmuch as having granted an Edict in behalf of his Reformed Subjects, which he was pleased to call HIS OWN EDICT, he had repealed it without the least Provocation, only for indulging the boundless Ambition of some wicked

G g 3

Men,

Henry III. Men, Disturbers of the publick Peace, and the
 1586. Plague of Mankind; whereupon they threatned
 Pope Six- his Majesty with the heaviest Judgments of
 tus V. God.

The King was indeed something moved at this unusual Boldness, nevertheless he moderately answered, that God having constituted him King, and a Most Christian King, he had been always careful to procure the Glory and Welfare of the Catholick Religion, which he had better demonstrated by his Actions than by his Words. For the rest, he willeth that all Princes and Cities should know that he, who had always the Fear of God before his Eyes, and had been no less sollicitous of his own Honour and Reputation, had never omitted any opportunity of procuring the Peace and Tranquility of his own Subjects, knowing better than any one what was more expedient, according to the Circumstances of Times; that to him it belonged to govern his Kingdom, to make Laws, to explain, alter, and abrogate them as he thought proper; so that it was what he had done before, and would do hereafter, &c. So he dismissed the Embassadors; but in the Evening, reflecting upon what they had so often repeated, that he was guilty of Breach of Faith, and of violating his own Edict of Peace; that very Thought put him into such a Passion, that he wrote with his own Hand, that *whosoever should say that he had broken his Faith, or stained his Honour and Reputation, in repealing his Edict of Peace, was a Lyar.* This Paper he sent that very Night to the Embassadors by a Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, with Orders to read it before them; they demanded a Copy of it, but were told that the King had ordered otherwise, and would

would have them to take this for their last Answer, and not to expect to be admitted to any other; so they took proper measures for returning in *Germany* (p).

Henry III.
1586.
Pope Six-
tus V.

Before the setting out of these Embassadors, either of *Switzerland* or of *Germany* for *France*, the Count of *Montbeliard* had procured a Conference, between some Divines of the *Augustan* and those of *Switzerland* and *Geneva's* Confession; at the Instigation of Mr. *De Clervant*, the King of *Navarre's* Envoy to that Prince, in order to bring them, if possible, to some Agreement amongst them, as to the Points of Doctrine controverted betwixt them. The Conference was held at *Montbeliard*, *Theodorus De Beze* and *Abraham Musculus*, Minister at *Bern*, came thither at the latter end of *March*; *James Andrea* of *Tubinge*, *Luke Osiander* and *Theodorick Sneytus*, assisted on the Lutheran's Part: Great Debates arose between *Beza* and *Andrea*, concerning the Lord's Supper, the Person of Christ, the Baptism, the Predestination, the Temples, the Images, the Organs, and the use to be made of them; with no other fruit than to revive, with greater Heat, the Disputes about these things which were thought to be buried in oblivion long ago. *Andrea* and his Partners ascribed to themselves the Victory, and were not ashamed to send Letters all over *Germany*, wherein they maliciously, or rather wickedly, boasted that *Beza* weeping-ripe, had been forced to yield. *Beza* answered, by an extemporary Writing, as they deserved, and he revised the same four Years after (q).

CLXXXIII.
A Conference between the Divines of the Augustan and those of Switzerland Confession.

The King of *Navarre's* Arms were very prosperous this Campaign, in *Xaintonge*,

CLXXXIV.
The King of Navarre's Success.

G g 4

(p) Thuan. Lib. lxxxvi. p. 148, 149.

(q) Idem Lib. lxxxv. p. 143.

Henry III. *Angoumois, Poitou, &c. Royan* was taken by
 1586. *Plassac*, which Place was very advantageous
 Pope Six- by its Situation to the said Prince. The Prince
 tus V. of *Condé* being arrived from *Guernsey* at *Rochelle*, at the beginning of this Year, with a numerous Retinue of Volunteers, the Queen of *England* having sent to him some Ships and a round Sum of Money, he besieged the Castle of *Dampierre* in the Neighbourhood of *Rochelle*, belonging to *Claudia de Clermont*, wife to the Duke of *Raiz*, and took it by Composition. Then he married *Charlotte Catharina* of *La Trimouille*, which marriage was celebrated at *Taillebourg*, on the 16th of *March*; he had been a Widower for about eleven Years. The Count of *Laval* took *Soubize*, and *Mornac*; *St. Gelais* took *Alnet*, *Monperic* and *Chizay*, upon *Boutonne*; *De Ranques* took the Castle of *Safay*.

c. xxxv. But the Joy of all these happy Successes was
 The Count much interrupted by the Death of the Count of
 of Laval's *Laval*, and of his two Brothers *De Sevilly* and
 &c. Death. *De Rieux*, Sons to the late renowned *D'Andelot*. The Prince of *Condé* having attacked the Rear of *Tiercelin* of *La Roche Du Maine*, as he was going to *Saintes*, routed it at the first Onset, tho' with a great Loss of his own; *Tiercelin* having rallied his Troops, renewed the Fight; The Count of *Laval* was come in all haste with part of his Regiment of Horse to the Prince's Assistance; the Royalists were routed again, their Standards were taken, many were killed, several wounded, some taken Prisoners, and the rest dispersed; but the Lords *De Sevilly* and *de Rieux* on the Prince's side were mortally wounded and died, the one on the next day, and the other two days after, at *St. John d'Angely*. The Count their Brother was so much
 affected

affected with that Loss, that he died with Grief, eight Days after; *De Tanlay* Brother to *Sevilly* was dead of Sickneſs a few Days before. So that of all that noble Family, conſiſting of four Sons and two Daughters, there remained, in a fortnight's time, but a young Child, *Guy De Laval* and his Aunt *Ann*, who was married eight Years after to *James Chabot* Marquiſs of *Mirebeau*, Son to the Count of *Brion*. It was thought likewiſe, that *René* Duke of *Roban* was ſo much affected with that ſad Inſtance of the Frailty of human Things, that he fell into a lingering Sickneſs, wherewith, he died at *Rochelle* this ſame Year (r).

1586.

Pope Sixtus V.

Tho' the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé* were much affected, they were not however diſheartened by theſe Loſſes, which many People conſidered as a bad Omen for the Reformed. We have ſaid above, that a Conference had been propoſed between the ſaid King and the Queen-Mother, and that that Princeſs was ſet out from *Paris* for *Chenonceaux*, in the Month of *July*, in order to proceed, by ſmall Journeys, to *St. Brix*, the Place appointed for the Conference, which was opened on the 13th of *December*. I ſhall briefly obſerve here that *D'Avila*, according to his Cuſtom, has improved this Opportunity for making a fine Romance of his own; he ſays, firſt, that the Conference was opened on the 18th of *October*; but it is plain enough by *Thuanus*, *D'Aubigné*, *Perefixe's*, &c. Teſtimony, that it was only in *December*; ſecondly, amongſt thoſe who attended the King of *Navarre* he names the Count of *Laval*, but that Lord died in the latter end of the preceeding *April*, as aboveſaid; thirdly, he makes one of the principal Points

CLXXXVI.
Conferen-
ces of St.
Brix.

Henry III. Points of the Conference to run upon a Divorce
 1586. between the King of *Navarre* and *Margaret*
Pope Six- of *Valois* his Consort, and a new Match with a
tus V. Daughter of the Duke of *Lorraine*; but not a
 word of this in *Thuanus*, or *D'Aubigné*, or
Mezeray. True it is, that *Perefixe* says, that the
 Queen Mother, having other things in view
 than the King her Son, or the King of *Navarre*,
 or the *League*, FOR THE CHILDREN OF HER
 OWN DAUGHTER, married to the Duke of
Lorraine; promised to the King her Son, that
 she would find means of quelling all these Storms.
 Whereby he seems to confirm *D'Avila's* Rela-
 tion; but in truth that Argument is too weak
 to be admitted: and had her Majesty proposed
 any thing like, is it probable that *Perefixe*
 would have omitted it when he speaks of the
 Propositions made in the Conference? This
 I thought proper to observe, in order to ac-
 count for my not quoting *D'Avila*; it is in a
 word, because I cannot depend upon the Ve-
 racity of that Historian, whom I look upon, at
 the best, as AN INGENIOUS AND ELOQUENT
 ROMANECER (s).

The Truth of the Matter is thus: the Queen
 Mother and the King of *Navarre* met together
 at the Castle of *St. Brix* near *Coignac*, in the
 Month of *December*, and not before; some
 Difficulties were started at first about the Safety
 of both their Majesties, especially of the Queen
 Mother, which were at last adjusted to her sa-
 tisfaction. The Queen Mother was attended
 by the Duke of *Montpensier*, formerly stiled
 the Prince Dauphin, the Abbess *Catharine* of
Bourbon, Aunt to the King of *Navarre*, the
 Duke of *Nevers*, the Marshal of *Biron*, *Lansac*,
Rambouillet, and several other Lords of the
 Court,

(s) *D'Avila*, Liv. viii. p. 447, &c.

Court, besides a numerous Train of the most beautiful Ladies that could be seen; in order to ensnare the King her Son-in-law and the Lords of his Court. A Suspension of Arms was agreed on at first for some Weeks only, but at last till *March* following. The first Conference began by reciprocal Complaints and Expostulations; the Queen upbraided the King with Obstinacy in his Opinions, and Resistance to the wholesome Counsels of her and the King her Son, whereby his Most Christian Majesty had been obliged to wage war against him. To this he opposed his known Fidelity, Obedience, and Patience whereby he had encouraged his Enemies to do what they did; and that the King stood in no need to repeal his Edict of Peace and declare War against him, had he not been forced to it by the wicked Advices of his corrupted Counsellors. The two first Conferences were employed in like warm Debates and Expostulations. The Viscount of *Turenne* paying a visit to the Queen, she took that Opportunity to insinuate unto him, that there was no other means left for procuring the Peace, than the King of *Navarre's* Conversion to the Religion of his Ancestors; and she desired him to let his Majesty know it. But in a third Conference, he rejected absolutely that Condition, shewing forth, that it was not only detrimental to the King and the Kingdom, but likewise that it would cast a blemish upon his own Character; and whereas the Queen insisted much upon a Truce for a Year, during which time, the Exercise of the Reformed Religion should be suspended, and the General States summoned for settling a Peace in the Kingdom; the King told her that he nor his Party could not accept of any such Terms, seeing that the matters of

Henry III.
1586.
Pope Six-
tus V.

Religion

Henry III. Religion could not be otherwise determined but
 1586 by a free Council lawfully assembled; that they
 Pope Six- could expect nothing good of the Statte General
 tus V. after what they had experienced in those of
Blois; that the Votes being bribed by the
 Leaguers, they would do violence to the King's
 Will: That if a free Council was agreed upon,
 he was ready to agree upon a Truce, by the
 Advice and Consent of the Deputies of the
 Provinces, without which he could nor would
 do any thing.

1587. Whereas they could not agree together, the
 Queen went to *Fontenay*, and *Niort*, and the
 King of *Navarre* to *Rochele*; and the Jealousies
 increasing between them both, the Conference
 could never be renewed: but the Viscount of
Turenne being sent to the Queen, he extolled
 the prosperous Condition of the King of
Navarre's Affairs, depressing that of the
Leaguers, saying, that they had lost much of
 their Reputation in the last Campaign, that
 they could expect but very little Assistance
 from *Spain*, which had her hands full with the
 War in the *Low Countries*, that they could rely
 only upon their own Conspiracies, and Cheats,
 and the Rebellion of the Cities procured by
 their seditious and profligate Emissaries; that
 true it was that the King of *Navarre* had lost
 some weak paltry Places, but that instead of
 them he had taken and fortified other Places
 double the Number of a far greater Consequence.
 That he was expecting a strong and numerous
 Army of his Allies in *Germany*, that he cared
 very little for the boasted Power of the Enemies
 of the State, considering that with so few
 Forces as those he had at the beginning of this
 War, he had been able to withstand the Efforts
 of six Armies and to ruin them. The Duke of
Nevers

Nevers ask'd him whether the King of *Navarre* was so far engaged with the *Germans*, that he could not treat with his Most Christian Majesty about Peace? To which the Viscount replied, that his *Navarrese* Majesty was at full Liberty to treat, nay, that he would engage his Word that if the King pleased and gave proper Directions for that purpose, the *Germans* would turn their Arms against the sworn Enemies of the State (1).

Henry III.
1587.
Pope Six-
tus V.

We must not omit some particulars of these Conferences, which do much honour to the King of *Navarre*. A Suspension of Arms had been agreed as abovesaid, and it had been stipulated that the first who should break it, should be arrested by the other Party. Now some of the King of *Navarre's* Servants feigning to be Traitors had lured some of the Queen Mother's Servants, too eager after Plunder, with the Hopes of surprising *Fontenay* by some Intelligence. Thereby the Catholicks would have been convicted of Perfidiousness, the Queen Mother would have been arrested, and not released without a large Ransom of some Millions of Livres, which would have amended the Affairs of the King of *Navarre*; but that generous Prince having had a scent of the Plot, was very angry, and rebuked the Plotters, forbidding them to proceed any further.

As he shewed forth his Generosity on this Occasion, so did he his Constancy and the Strength of his Mind during the whole Conference. One day as the Queen asked him *what it was that he desired?* *Nothing*, says he, *Madam, of what I see before me*; looking upon the fair Ladies that attended her Majesty. After a long Conference, the Queen told him,

Then

(1) Thuan. Lib. lxxxvi. p. 154, 155.

Henry III. *Then, Sir, shall all the Trouble I have taken prove*
 1587. *fruitless? I who desire so much to be at rest.*

Pope Six-
tus V. *Madam, says he, 'tis not my fault, I don't hin-*
der you from sleeping quietly in your own Bed,
but it is you that hinder me to lie in my own;
the Trouble you take is delightful to you, it is
your Nourishment, Quiet and Rest cannot abide
with your Temper. But amongst his quick and
witty Replies, this was particularly taken no-
tice of; the Duke of Nevers told him that he
would be much more honourably with the King,
than with People among whom he had no Au-
thority, and that if he wanted Money at Ro-
chelle, he would not have Credit enough to lay
an Impost upon the Inhabitants; he answered
stoutly, Sir; I do at Rochelle whatever I will,
because I will nothing beyond my Duty (v).

These Conferences of *St. Brix* served only to increase the Heats, Animosities and Jealousies between the Parties. I don't know upon what foundation *Perefixe* says that the *Guiskians* trying all manner of ways and means to be revenged upon the Favourites, sent offers of their Services to the King of *Navarre*, and that the Duke of *Mayenne* let him know, that it was not impossible to come to some Agreement, if he would only consent to it; that he would go to meet him with four Horses only wherever he should be pleased, and would deliver unto him his own Wife and Children in Hostage (u). It is true that such an Offer was proffer'd to the King of *Navarre* about two Years before, but I find no such thing at this time.

clxxxvii.
Mary
Queen of
Scotland
beheaded.

On the 18th of *February* this Year, *Mary Stuart* Queen of *Scotland* after seventeen Years captivity was beheaded; Sentence of death had

(v) D'Aubigné Tom. III. Liv. i. ch. 7.

(u) Perefixe Part. I. p. 79, 80, 81.

Henry III.
1587.
Pope Six-
tus V.

had passed upon her three Months before, during which time the King of *France* omitted nothing for moving Queen *Elizabeth* to pity. Nevertheless the *Guisians* made use of this pretence, as well as they had done of the Queen Mother's Conferences with the King of *Navarre*, for calumniating his Majesty and incensing the People against him, as if he had connived with the Queen of *England*, as if he was an Abettor of Hereticks; and they exasperated them so much the more against the King of *Navarre* and the Reformed, by the means of the seditious Preachers, who told their Hearers that they would be treated worse than Queen *Mary*, if the King of *Navarre* was ever King of *France*; and the hatred against them went so far, that whoever spoke of Peace with the *Hugonots*, was look'd upon as guilty of high Treason against God and Man (x).

clxxxviii.
Plots and Attempts of the Leaguers at Paris.

The Duke of *Mayenne* being arrived at *Paris*, took new Measures with the SIXTEEN, (so were named the Heads of the League at *Paris*, because they had divided the whole City into sixteen Wards, each Ward had its own Commissary or Overseer;) these Men were for the most part of the worst Character, Murderers, or Robbers, or fraudulent Bankrupts, &c. There was a Lord of *Mayneville* a great Stickler for the *League*, a great Lyar, if there was any in the Kingdom, who used to be present at their Conferences in the College of *Forteret*, since that time called the *Cradle of the League*, and one *Le Clerc* an Attorney, a bold Fellow, they both by their false Insinuations and seditious Speeches moved their Adherents to Rebellion; they told them that the Catholick Religion was going to be undone, if it was not speedily supported

(x) Lettres de Pasquier, Tom. I. Liv. xi. p. 708.

Henry III. 1587. Pope Sixtus. V. reported and assisted; that above ten thousand *Hugonots* were lodged in the Suburbs of *St. Germain*, ready to cut the Throats of the Catholicks, in order to have the King of *Navarre* declared lawful Heir to the Crown; that many Politicians even amongst the Catholicks supported the Cause, as well in the King's Council as in the Parliament; that it was necessary that the good Catholicks should arm themselves secretly, that they might be the strongest, and able to oppose such Attempts; that they had for their Leaders several good Lords and Princes, such as the Dukes of *Guise*, *Mayenne*, *Aumale* and all the House of *Lorraine*; that in their Consideration, the Pope, the Cardinals, Bishops, Abbots and the whole Clergy, with the Doctors of *Sorbonne*, would assist them, because they knew very well that they were supported by the King of *Spain*, the Prince of *Parma*, the Duke of *Savoy*; that it was certain that the King of *Navarre* was countenanc'd by the King of *France*, for he had remitted unto him by the Duke of *Espernon's* means the Sum of two hundred thousand Crowns, for enabling him to wage war upon the Catholicks; but that there was already a good Number of Men at *Paris* who had promised upon their Oaths that they would die rather than suffer such things; that it would be very easy for them to execute their Designs, the King having no other Forces near his Person but 300 of his Guards, the Provost of the *Hostel* and his Archers, and Provost *Hardy*; that the Duke of *Guise* would be ready at hand to assist them with the Forces he had secretly levied in *Champaign* and *Picardy* to the Number of 4000 Men, paid by several of the richest amongst them. They made secretly great Provision of

Arms

Arms which were concealed in *Guise's House* Henry III. or at the Houses of *Le Clerc*, *Compan*, *de Bar*, 1585. *Rolland*, *Crucé*, and in other Places in all the Pope Sixtus V. Wards of the City. They tampered with every body in the following manner; with those of the Chamber of Accounts, by *la Chapelle Marteau*; with the Court of the Parliament by the President *Le Maître*; with the Attorneys thereof, by *Le Clerc* and *Michel*, Attorneys; with the Clerks of the Rolls, by *Senault*; with the Serjeants, by *Le Lew*; with the Court of Assistants, by the President *de Nully*; with the Clerks thereof, by *Choulier*; with the Generals of the Mint, by *Rolland*. The *Sixteen* had likewise tampered with the Serjeants of the Rod and others, as with most part of their Neighbours and Inhabitants of their Wards, over whom they had some Influence. *La Bruyère* was to tamper with the Counsellors of the *Chastelet*, and *Crucé* with the Attorneys thereof and most part of the University of *Paris*. *De Bar* and *Michelet*, with the Seafaring Men and Watermen, which were 500 in Number, all perfect Rakes; *Toussaint Poccart* a Porter, and one *Gilbert* a Seller of Hogs Heads, Neat and Hogs Tongues, &c. with all the Butchers and other such like Tradesmen of the City and Suburbs the Number whereof amounted then to above 1500 Men; *Louchart* with Jockeys, and such People of the like kind, to whom they gave to understand that if they did not provide themselves in good time, the *Hugonots* would cut their Throats and place the King of *Navarre* upon the Throne. The Duke of *Guise* sent notice to the *Sixteen* that it was requisite to practise upon the best Cities of the Kingdom, which being approved by them, they sent *Ameline* into the Provinces of

Henry III. *Beausse*, *Maine*, *Anjou* and *Touraine*, who
 1587. made a prodigious Number of Profelytes to
Pope Six- his Wickedness at *Chartres*, *Orleans*, *Blois*,
tus V. *Tours* and several other Cities.

They deliberated to seize upon *Bologn*, where the *Spanish* Fleet might land the Forces they brought to their Assistance; and accordingly the Provost *Vetus* took upon himself to seize upon one of the Gates with 50 Archers, till the Duke of *Aumale*, who had Troops near that Town ready to march at the first warning, might come to his Relief. But *Nicolas Poulain* Lieutenant of the Provostship of the *Isle of France*, who feigned to be as zealous a *Leaguer* as any one of them, being present at this Deliberation, gave notice immediately thereof to the King, who wrote to the Lord of *Bernay* Governour of *Bologn*, who prepared every thing against a Surprise. The Provost *Vetus* came, but was arrested and brought Prisoner into the Town with part of his Men, where he remained for above four Months. *Aumale* questioning not but that *Vetus* had seized upon one of the Gates, came to his Assistance; but when he was near enough the Town, they fired the Cannon upon him and obliged him to retire; he fell by the way into an Ambush, and saw part of his Troops cut to pieces before his Face.

That Disappointment disheartned not the Sixteen nor their Chief the Duke of *Guise*, the Rabble of their Party were most impatient, and burnt with an eager desire of murdering and plundering; they were averse to all Delay, being afraid lest they should be discovered and punished as they deserved: They had a mind to begin with the King's most sacred Person, some were for falling upon him and murdering him, but others were for seizing him and shutting

ting him close in a Monastery; and indeed Henry III. they waited one Day for him in *St. Anthony's* ^{1587.} Street, fully resolved to stop his Coach as he ^{Pope Sixtus V.} came from the *Castle of Vincennes* attended only with two Horsemen and four Lackeys. But as they were upon the point of executing their detestable Plot, their Hearts failed them. They expected every day the Duke of *Guise*, but in the mean while the Duke of *Mayenne* arrived from *Guienne*; the Sixteen waited upon him at ten of the Clock in the Evening at *St. Dennis' House*, they imparted their Designs to him, and told him that the Duke of *Guise* had promised to assist them; but that the Delays were prejudicial unto them, and that they might be discovered by the King, if not prevented in good time. *Mayenne* approved their Reasons, and promised them his Assistance. After that time they took proper measures for seizing upon the *Bastile*, the *Arsenal*, the great and little *Chastelet*, the *Palace*, the *Temple*, the *Town House*, and the *Louvre*; it was agreed between them to murder the *Knight of the Watch*, the first *President*, the Lord *Chancellor*, the *Attorney General*, Messieurs *De la Guesle*, *d'Espeffes* and several others, and to plunder their Houses. But upon some Difficulties started concerning the Execution, they altered their Scheme, and agreed upon BARRICADES, which was thus: Every one in his own Ward was to chain the Streets, and to put Hogsheds full of Earth for encumbring the Passage, and as soon as the Word should be given no body should be allowed to pass but those who should know it, and had a certain Mark, that only 4000 Men should pass through the *Barricades*, for going to the *Louvre* to destroy the King's Guard; and in every other Place where there

Henry III. was any Force for his Majesty, the Nobility
 1587. that sided with the King, the Politicians, and
 Pope Six- those who were suspected of Heresy ought to
 tus V. be murdered all to one, as well as the King's
 Council; which done, they were to cry in the
 Streets, *MASS FOR EVER*, whereupon they
 questioned not but that all true Catholicks
 would join with them. That they should seize
 upon the *Louvre* and the King's Person, which
 they would spare provided he would promise
 them not to meddle himself the least in the
 World with the Government for the future,
 but suffer himself to be absolutely governed by
 a Council of their own chusing. As to the Ar-
 my which they expected from *Spain*, they in-
 tended to send it into *Guienne* and *Gascony*
 against the King of *Navarre* and the Hereticks
 till they had utterly destroyed them all to one.
 In a word every Member of that execrable
 Body was fully bent to murder and plunder as
 much as he could. The Plot was certainly to
 be executed in less than ten Days, had it not
 been prevented by the Discovery which the
 above named *Nicholas Poulain* made thereof to
 the King, who thereupon commanded the
 Gates of the City to be more strictly guarded,
 a Garrison to be sent to the great and little
Chastelet, to the *Arsenal*, the Bridge of *St. Clou*,
Charenton and *St. Dennis*; he sent likewise for
 more Troops into the City, whereat the Trai-
 tors were frightned out of their Wits, knowing
 not by what means or by whom they had been
 discovered.

Mayenne seeing himself disappointed, was
 bold enough to go to the *Louvre* to pay his re-
 spects to the King whom he had seen but once
 since his arrival from *Guienne*, and taking his
 leave of his Majesty, the King said to him, *How*

so Cousin, do you forsake your good Friends the Leaguers? whereto he answered, *I don't know what your Majesty means.* Nevertheless he and the Cardinal of Guise his Brother had lodged sixty Officers in the Suburbs of *St. Germain*, in order to seize upon the King at the Fair, his Majesty having been invited to dine at the *Abby*; but having received notice thereof by *Poulain*, he went not to the Abby, nor to the Fair. But he sent thither the Duke of *Espernon*, who was exposed to great Danger, and was obliged to retire without dining.

Henry III.
1587.
Pope Six-
tus V.

The Duke of *Guise* having notice of the Duke of *Mayenne's* Attempt, was very angry with the Leaguers of *Paris*; he sent *de Mayneville* to expostulate with them; he knew that the Pear was not ripe enough, and was afraid lest by being over-hasty they should spoil all. However, at their most humble Request he forgave them, and *Mayneville* got of them a gold Chain of five hundred Ducats value for his Trouble.

Though the King had an exact notice of all these private Transactions by the means of *Nicholas Poulain* abovementioned, nevertheless he was as it were bewitched, and tho' he could not question in the least the Truth of the Reports, nevertheless the Impudence of the perfidious and treacherous *Villequier*, who assured him that he was too much beloved by the People of *Paris*, to have any thing to fear from them, prevailed so far upon him that he continued to live in a wonderful Supineness, debasing the Royal Majesty, assisting as usual at his nocturnal and diurnal Processions, playing as he walked in the Streets with a *BILBOQUET*, (*which is a Stick hollowed at both Ends with a Line, in the midst of which hangs a Bullet for Children to*

clxxxix.
The King's
Supineness.

Henry III. *play withal*) wearing a Basket hanging to his Neck with little Dogs in it no bigger than the Fist, for getting or keeping of which he laid out every Year a hundred thousand Crowns (y).

1587. *Pope Six-
tus V.* CXC. Such were the Dispositions and Inclinations of the Leaguers at the beginning of the Year 1587. The Conferences of *St. Brix* having proved fruitless, the King of *Navarre* thought proper to send his Deputies throughout the Provinces of *France*, to acquaint his Party with whatever had been transacted in the Conferences, and that in order to avoid the Jealousies, and to prevent the false Insinuations which his Enemies could make use of for cooling the Zeal of the Reformed, as if his *Navarrese* Majesty had had a mind to treat with the Court without their Participation. At the same time he sent to the Princes of *Germany* for hastening their Auxiliaries; for their Ambassador having reported to their Principals what Answer the Most Christian King had returned to them last Year, provoked thereat, they had resolved in an Assembly held at *Lunebourg*, to send a powerful Succour to the King of *Navarre* and the Reformed.

*His Ex-
ploits.* In the mean while the said King of *Navarre* set out from *Rochelle* by the latter end of *April* with some pieces of Artillery; in his way he took *Chisay* by Composition, and *Sasay* by Assault, then *St. Maixant* by Composition, *Fontenay le Comte* surrendered itself at Discretion after two Weeks Siege; *Mauleon* was taken by *Escalado*.

CXCI. The King of *France* had but three Armies on foot this Year, one in *Poitou* and *Guienne* under

*The Duke of Joy-
euse's Ex-
ecutions.* (y) Procez verbal de Nicholas Poulain. It is also to be found word for word in Thuanus, Tom. IV. Lib. lxxxvi. p. 168, — 175.

under the command of the Duke of *Joyeuse*, ^{Henry III.} another under the Command of the Duke of ^{1587.} *Guise* upon the *Frontiers*, and another in ^{Pope Sixtus V.} *Beauſſe* wherein he commanded in Person. The first having crossed the *Loire* with a numerous Army, his Vanguard was almost routed by the King of *Navarre*, who after having sent part of his Troops into *Xaintonge* and another near *St. Maixant*, went himself to *Rochelle*. Now it happened that the Regiments of *La Charbonniere* and *Desbory* having been left in *Poitou*, and making frequent Incursions upon the Enemies, were come to *La Motte St. Eloy*, where they lodged without taking any further Security from the Governour of the Castle than his own Word: Therefore being unexpectedly surrounded by *Joyeuse's* Army, they were all to a Man cut to pieces by that General's Orders with the greatest Cruelties, notwithstanding the Intreaties of the several Officers of distinction of the said Army, who had engaged their Faith and Honour to the said Regiments that they should have their Lives saved. Colonel *Desbory* was taken and kept Prisoner; as to *La Charbonniere*, he was absent from his Regiment at that time. After that fine Exploit, *Joyeuse* besieged *St. Maixant*, which after a fortnight's Siege was obliged to capitulate; but the Articles of Capitulation, thro' the Cruelty of the General, were no better kept than the Promises made to the forementioned two Regiments, the Town was given up to Plunder, and the Soldiers committed the greatest Outrages against the poor Inhabitants without distinction of Age or Sex. The Reverend Mr. *Jarriette* Minister of the Place being taken as he endeavoured to escape, was brought to *Joyeuse*, who caused him to be hanged upon the spot. From *St. Maix-*

Henry III. *ant* that General came to *Niort*, and feigned
 1587. to have a design upon *Marans*, but at the In-
 Pope Six- stances of *St. Luc* he crossed the Country of
 tus V. *Aulnix* and battered *Tonnay Charente*, which he
 took by Composition. Then understanding
 that the Company of Horse belonging to the
 Lord *Des Peuilhes* was at *Croix Chappeau*, a
 Place between *Tonnay* and *Rockelle*, he went
 thither with the choicest Men of his Army;
 they made a brave Resistance for a time, but at
 last being surrounded by the Enemy, and unable
 to withstand, they surrendered themselves upon
 Terms; but here again *Joyeuse* shewed the little
 Regard he had for his Faith and Honour, for
 he caused them to be stript stark naked and
 butchered in the most cruel manner. Which
 done, he returned to *Tonnay*, and hearing that
 the King of *Navarre* was set out from *Rockelle*
 in order to engage him, he went back to *Niort*,
 the Prince of *Condé* retook *Tonnay*, which was
 taken again by *Joyeuse*; he took likewise
Maillezay, but durst not attack *Marans*, dread-
 ing the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of
Condé who had taken the Field; nor *Talmont*,
 because *St. Stephen*, an old brave experienc'd
 Officer, had entered the Place in order to defend
 it. Now his Army was in a bad Condition, the
 Plague made havock amongst his Troops,
 many deserted, and receiving Advice from
 Court that he lost ground in the King's Favour,
 he went Post to *Paris* about the middle of
August, leaving his Army under the Conduct
 of *Lavardin*.

CXCII. But the King of *Navarre* who watched the
 The King first Opportunity, followed with some Cavalry,
 of Na and pursued them so briskly, that he entirely
 varre routs routed three Companies of Horse in the Rear,
 the Rear took their Standards and made a great num-
 of Joyeuse ber

ber of Prisoners of distinction. Which done, Henry III. he pursued *Lavardin* who conducted the Foot, 1587. with two Culverines, and who with great Difficulty got into the *Hague* in *Touraine* where he Pope Sixtus V. besieged him; but having no Cannon to batter the Walls, he desisted, crossed the *Loire*, and built a Fort near *Monfereau* beyond *Saumur*, with a Bridge of Boats, waiting for the Troops which the Count of *Soissons* and the Lord of *Colombieres* were bringing to him from *Normandy*, *Anjou*, &c.

The Count of *Soissons* was youngest Brother CXCIIL. to the Prince of *Condé*. He was a magnanimous Prince, and seeing that the Royal Majesty was daily debased, that the very Name of Prince of the Blood was become almost contemptible amongst People of all Ranks, that on the contrary the Power and Credit of the *Guises* increased every Day; besides, considering that this War was not kindled for Religion sake (*he had been brought up in the Roman Religion*) but rather for the Destruction of the Royal House, he was easily persuaded to take the King of *Navarre's* Party for the Good and Welfare of the Most Christian King and the Kingdom, especially being offered the most honourable Terms; for Abbot *d'Elbene* the Manager of this Negociation for the King of *Navarre*, gave him hopes of marrying that Prince's Sister. The same Abbot had engaged the Earl of *Stafford* the *English* Embassador at the Court of *France* to deliver to the said Count most part of the Money which Queen *Elizabeth* had remitted for the necessary Uses of the Reformed in the present War. So then the Count of *Soissons* having first imparted his Design to the Prince of *Conti* his Brother, they agreed that he should immediately join the King of

Henry III. of *Navarre* with the Levies he had made, and that the Prince of *Conti* should wait at home till the coming of the *German* Auxiliaries, whom he should join with the rest of the *French* Troops he had under his Command. Accordingly *Soissons* begun his March and was met at *Lude* by the Viscount of *Turenne*, whom the King of *Navarre* had sent for that purpose; then having crossed the *Loire* without any Obstacle, tho' *Joyeuse* was already at *Saumur*, he was received by the said King and the Nobility that were with him, with all possible Demonstrations of Joy, and having joined their Forces together, they marched to *Loudun*, without any Opposition from *Joyeuse*; from *Loudun* they came into *Xaintonge*, from whence the said King sent the Viscount of *Turenne* to *Rochelle* to bring from thence the Artillery. His Design was to go and meet the *German* Auxiliaries, after having received a new Supply of Troops, which he expected from *Gascony*; but the sudden Arrival of *Joyeuse* with an Army stronger than the former, obliged him to alter his Scheme.

CXCIV. That General was come from *Saumur* to *Loudun*, from whence he marched by great Journeys through the *Angoumois* into the *Perigord*, in order to meet the King of *Navarre* and oppose his crossing the *Droune*. That Prince being set out from *Rochelle* was come to *Pons* in *Xaintonge*, where having assembled his Forces he came in all haste into *Perigord* to be beforehand with *Joyeuse*.

1587.
Pope Six-
tus V

That Favourite who was at *Barbesieux*, sent a Troop of *Albanois* to *Coutras* in order to seize that Place; the King of *Navarre* had sent likewise *Claude la Trimouille* Duke of *Tbouars*, with the same Design, who being arrived

arrived, he dislodged the former, and took Henry III.
 Lodgment for the Army; so that the Duke 1587.
 of *Joyeuse*, who had followed the *Albanois* Pope Six-
 with all his Forces, was obliged to retire to tus V.
Roche-Chalais, and there to continue all Night
 long. The next Morning, the 20th of *October*,
 the King of *Navarre* understanding that
Joyeuse was come and had put his Army in
 Array, he did the same, and divided his Ca-
 valry in four Squadrons; one under his Com-
 mand, another under the Prince of *Conde's*
 at his Right, the third under the Count of
Soissons's at his Left, and the fourth under
 the Viscount of *Turenne*. I shall not give any
 further Description of this Battle; I shall ob-
 serve only, First, That the Royal Army was
 of about 12000 Men, Horse and Foot; and
 the King of *Navarre's* of 6500 Men, Horse
 and Foot; the first was composed for the most
 Part of young Nobility and Gentry, but truly
 Volunteers, raw, undisciplin'd young Cour-
 tiers, that followed only their Heat, and could
 not submit themselves to any Rule of the
 military Discipline; the General himself had but
 very little Experience, puffed up with Pride,
 and led by a blind Zeal for the *League*, and
 his own Religion. The other was composed
 of the choice Men of the Party, the Rem-
 nants of the Battles of *Jarnac*, and *Mont-*
contour, Men inured to the Labours and Fa-
 tiques of the War, under the Command of
 three Princes of the Blood, the first whereof
 was well-beloved for his amiable Qualifica-
 tions, obeyed, and revered as Presumptive
 Heir of the Crown. Secondly, The Orders
 for the Battle being given, the King of *Na-*
varre called for all the chief Officers of his
 Army, and from a rising Ground he exhorted
 them

Henry III. them in few Words, but very well becoming
 1587. his high Quality, and suitable to the pre-
 Pope Si- sent Circumstances; calling God to witness,
 tus V. that he did not fight against his King, but
 for the Defence of his own Religion and of
 his own Right. Then directing his Speech to
 the two Princes of the Blood, *Condé* and
Soissons, *I shall tell you nothing else*, says he,
but that you are of the House of Bourbon,
and by the help of God, I will shew you this Day,
that I am your Eldest. Thirdly, The Revd.
 Mr. *de Chandieu* having remonstrated to his
Navarrese Majesty that he had heavily offended
 and scandalized his Church, by deflouring the
 Daughter of a Magistrate at *Rockelle*, whereby
 the whole Family was dishonoured; and that
 he could not expect that God should favour
 his Arms, if before all he did not ask Pardon
 for his Offence, make Amends for it, and
 restore that Family to its former Honour as
 much as possible. The King having humbly
 hearkened to these Remonstrances, fell down
 upon his Knees, asking God Almighty's Par-
 don, desiring all the Assistants to bear wit-
 ness to his Repentance, and to assure the
 Girl's Father, that if God preserved him, he
 would give him all proper Satisfaction. What
 was more admirable, or *Chandieu's* Assurances,
 or the King's Humility? True it is, that be-
 ing so good a Politician, understanding very
 well his own Interest, he knew perfectly well,
 that such a Step was absolutely necessary for
 preserving the Love and Affection of the
Rockellese, and especially of his Troops in the
 present Juncture. Nay, he went much further
 afterwards, for he did publick Penance for
 the same in one of the Churches of *Rockelle*
 upon a Sunday, during the Time of Divine
 Service

Service (z). Fourthly, His Valour and great Henry III. Courage appeared plainly in that Day; he had put upon his Salade a Plume of white 1587. Pope Sixtus V. Feathers, not only because he liked best that Colour, but especially that he might be more remarkable; therefore some of his Servants having put themselves before him, for defending and covering his Person, he cried unto them, *Aside, aside, don't eclipse me, I want to be seen.* He broke through the first Files of the Enemy, and took himself several Prisoners; nay, he took by the Neck, one *Chateau-Regnard* a Cornet of a Company of Gendarmes, saying unto him, SURRENDER THOU PHILISTINE! Having got the Day, some having seen the Run-a-ways who halted, mistook them for another Army of the Marshal of *Matignon*, wherewith he acquainted the King of *Navarre*, who received that News as a fresh Subject of Glory, and said to the Officers that stood by him, *(Come, my Friends, it will be what has never been seen before, two Battles in a Day.* Fifthly, The Enemy's Army was intirely routed and cut to pieces, they lost 5000 Men, amongst whom were 400 Officers or Noblemen, all the Artillery, Baggage, Ensigns, and Standards; all the Officers, two or three excepted, were killed or taken Prisoners, the Duke of *Joyeuse* and


(z) Thuan. Lib. 87. Prefixe, pag. 88. But neither of them say that he did Penance at *Rockelle*, we have that Account from *Du Pleffis's* Biographer, who differs too from the two others, in these two Particulars: First, he says that *Du Pleffis* was the Man who gave the King the first Hint to do Penance; Secondly, That he did it for the first Time, not at the Head of his Army, but in the Church of *Pons*, and that the Revd. Mr. *De Chandieu*, preached an excellent Sermon suitable to the Occasion. He adds, that when he did Penance at *Rockelle* the Revd. Mr. *De la Touche* preached the Sermon.

Henry III. and his Brother *St. Sauveur* were found amongst the Slain in the Field. Sixthly, The Moderation and Clemency of the King of *Navarre* on this Occasion, cannot be sufficiently expressed nor admired; being come back to *Contras* in the Evening to refresh himself, he found his House full of Prisoners and Wounded, so that he was obliged to go into *du Plessis's* Apartment, ordering his Cover to be laid there; but the Corpse of *Joyeuse* lying upon the Table in the same Room, he was obliged to come up one Pair of Stairs. During his Supper, the Prisoners of most Distinction were brought before him, together with 56 Ensigns, and 22 Cornets. Far from being puffed up with his Victory, he comforted the Prisoners, several of whom he released without Ransom, took great Care of the Wounded, and delivered the Corpse of *Joyeuse* to the Viscount of *Turenne*, who sent it to *Paris*, where it was honoured with Royal Funerals by the King's Orders. That Lord was one of the most embittered Enemies the King of *Navarre* had; he had obtained of the Pope the Forfeiture of all that Prince's Dominions, flattering himself that this Battle would certainly put him in Possession thereof, being positive that it was impossible for the King of *Navarre* to escape from his Hands; the Event proved quite the Reverse, and the Soldiers of the Reformed Army having fresh in their Memory, what Treatment their Brethren had received of that perfidious and cruel General, did not forget to excite one another to Revenge, saying one to another, during the Heat of the Action, REMEMBER THE LATE BUTCHERY OF LA MOTTE ST. ELOY. Sixthly, *Pasquier* says that this Misfortune was ascribed by some;

some, to *Joyeuse's* Temerity, who insisted obstinately upon giving the Enemy Battle, against the Opinion of the most experienced Officers of his Army; by others, that he had the King's positive Orders to engage at any rate, as soon as an Opportunity should offer itself; some others, that thinking to be out of Favour, he chose to die rather than to out-live his Disgrace; others ascribed it to a particular Judgment of God upon him, for so many Cruelties and perfidious Acts by him or at his Command committed, whenever, and wherever he had been the Strongest †. Seventhly, The Loss on the Reformed Side was very inconsiderable, amounting not to 30 Men, amongst whom were found no Person of any Note, few were wounded. Indeed, the Fruits reap'd from this great Victory, were but very small and indifferent; but I am much surprized to find so many Historians, some of them of no less Note than *Mezeray*, who ascribe the Fault thereof to the King of *Navarre's* Passion for the fair Countess of *la Guiche*; and what is more surprizing is, that *Bayle* himself has given an intire Credit to that Historian, who had copied after some other of a lesser Capacity than himself: *Bayle*, I say, always ready to take Advantage of every thing that may tickle his Fancy, has copied *Mezeray*, rather than *du Plessis's Biographer*, whom he had quoted just before, upon account of the King of *Navarre's* doing Penance. Had he been at the Trouble of Reading only just the two next Pages, he would have seen that that Prince was under an absolute Impossibility to improve his Victory, because he was not Master of his Troops. The Day before the Battle, the Prince

Henry III.
1587.
Pope Sixtus V.

† Pasquier his Letters, Tom. I. Lib. XI. p. 710, 711.

Henry III. of *Condé*, who was at *Mongyon*, sent him Word
 1587. that the Nobility and Gentry of *Poitou*, *Xain-*
Pope Six- *tonge* and *Angoumois* were resolved to go home,
 tus V.  to prepare themselves for going to meet the
German Auxiliaries that were already entered
 the Kingdom: Whereupon, that Prince by his
 most earnest Intreaties obliged them to follow
 him to the River *Drogne*, upon Promise that
 they should not cross it: Nevertheless they did
 more than they had promised, and seeing that
 it was in earnest, they crossed the River and
 performed their Duty with great Zeal and
 Courage on the Day of Battle. But immediately
 after the Battle, it was not possible to keep
 them any longer, they insisted upon their Bar-
 gain, and the King of *Navarre* saw himself forced
 to give them Leave to go to their own
 Houses; upon Promise however, that they
 would meet again his Majesty, in *St. Aulais's*
Commons on the 20th of *November*. The
Troops of Guyenne likewise had been lent only
 for three Weeks, and nevertheless they had
 been detained six Weeks longer; so after the
 Battle they did insist upon their Return, as those
 of *Poitou*, &c. and could not be refused.
 There remained only the Troops levied be-
 yond the *Loire*, which were to be employed
 by Mr. *De Turenne*, at the Siege of *Sarlat*;
 therefore the King of *Navarre* was not in
 a Capacity of undertaking any thing of Mo-
 ment, with so small a Number of Troops;
 and indeed such Historians and Criticks who
 follow their own Imagination, instead of in-
 quiring into the Nature of Things and the
 true Circumstances, are much to be blamed.
 (a) His *Navarrese* Majesty came to *Nerac*,
 attended

(a) Mezeray, Partie III. Tome V. p. 308. Bayle's
 Dict. Art. Henry IV. Vie de Du Pleſſis. Liv. I. pag. 109,
 110, 111. His Memoirs Tom. I.

attended with his Household and a few others, then he proceeded into *Bearn* with the Count of *Soissons* and payed a Visit to his Sister at *Pau*. He sent an Envoy to his Most Christian Majesty, intreating him in the most submissive Manner to grant Peace to his most faithful Subjects of the Reformed Religion. But that miserable Prince was so far bewitched by his corrupted Counsellors, the vile Slaves of the League, that he refused to give Audience to that Envoy.

Henry III.
1587.
Pope Six-
tus V.

While the King of *Navarre* was in *Bearn* he receiv'd the News of the German Army's Rout. We have said above that the German Embassadors being returned home last Year, their Principals had been so much provoked at the King's Answer, that it was unanimously agreed in an Assembly held at *Luncbourg* to set on foot a numerous Army to be sent to the Relief of the King of *Navarre*; that Scheme was so eagerly pursued and executed, that in a little time, they had an Army of about 30000 Men, Horse and Foot, with all their Accoutrements: never a finer Army came out of *Germany* and *Switzerland*, and had they had a Chief adorned with all the requisite Qualifications, very likely they would have been able to subdue the *Leaguers* and all their factious Gang, nay, they would have been able to bring the King himself to their Terms. But

CXCV.
*The Aux-
iliary Ar-
my routed.*

QUOS JUPITER PERDERE VULT, PRIUS
DEMENTAT.

An Apple was put instead of a Head upon a Body of such Bulk. Prince *Casimir*, designed to command these Forces; declined that Charge, I don't know precisely for what Reason, and the Baron of *Donab*, one of his Domesticks; was put in his stead, an honest Man indeed, wise and courageous considered in his private Capa-

Henry III city, but wanting Experience, and not having
 1587. the Credit and Authority requisite to command
 Pope Six- Respect and Obedience, each Colonel thought
 tus V. himself as good as the General, no Harmony
 in the Council of War, frequent Mutinies amongst the Troops; no wonder if they ended so miserably, having begun with so little Prudence and Management.

CXCVI.
 The German Army
 march into
 France.

That Army, according to Orders, was reviewed near *Strasbourg* on the 20th of *August*; there were 8000 German Horse under the Command of three Colonels, *Boucq*, *Bernsdorff* and *Dommartin*, Colonel *Schrogeln* commanded a Regiment of Foot. The Protestant Cantons of *Switzerland* had sent 20000 Foot under the Command of Mr. *De Clervant*, so many times mentioned before, who sent 4000 of them into *Dauphiné*, which were routed by *D'Espernon* and *La Valette* his Brother. Besides the Baron of *Donab*, Prince *Casimir* had joined to him some other General Officers, who did not agree together, and had named one *Michael de la Huguere*, formerly a School-Master at *Paris*, to be Interpreter and Agent of that Army, a Man of an intolerable Impudence, bribed by the Duke of *Lorain*, with whom he kept a secret Correspondence, and sent him Notice of the Resolutions taken in the Council of War. As soon as the Duke of *Bouillon*, whom the King of *Navarre* had nominated his Lieutenant-General in that Army, had Notice of its March, he set out from *Sedan* with the Count of *la Mark* his Brother, and 2000 French Foot, with 300 Horse. But having joined the Army, he saw himself obliged to yield to the Baron of *Donab*, who was older than himself, and had in his Power the main Force thereof; he was attended by several of the French Reformed Nobility,

Nobility, brave Officers of great Experience, but whose Counsels were not hearkened to. Henry III. 1587. Pope Sixtus V. Emperor *Rodolph* at the Instigation of *Philip* King of *Spain*, and of the *Lorain* Princes, sent Orders to Baron of *Donab* to disband the Army under his Command, as having been raised without his Leave; but the Baron answered very pertly, and did not obey such a ridiculous Order.

The Duke of *Lorain* understanding that this Army was ready to enter his Dominions, put himself the best he could in a Posture of Defence. The Most Christian King, tho' intirely abhorring that War, thought however requisite, in order to remove the ill Opinion People had conceived of him by the means of Preachers and other *Guisian* Emissaries, to assemble his Troops; and being gone to *Meaux*, he published an Edict on the 23d of *June*, ordering the Regiments of Horse, which were named therein, to repair to *Chaumont* in the *Vexine*, by the 20th of *July*, and the rest at *Gien* and *St. Florent* upon the *Loire*, by the 1st of *August*. He divided all his Forces into two Bodies, one whereof was to be under the Command of the Duke of *Guise*, which was composed of twenty Troops of Horse, and four Regiments of Foot. The other was to be commanded by the King himself. The Duke of *Guise* arrived at *Meaux* at the same Time to see the King, by the Intervention of the Queen-Mother, who had kindled that War, who entertained it, and desired earnestly to see it managed and perfected by the Duke of *Guise*. And in the Conference the said Duke had with the King, it was publicly treated of the Operations of the Campaign; but in secret the King insinuated that it would be better to find ways and means for making a lasting

Henry III. Peace; which the Duke answered, that he could
 1587. determine nothing upon that Point, without
 Pope Six- consulting first his own Relations, Friends and
 tus V. Allies, that he would nor ought not to be of
 another Opinion than theirs. The King was
 deeply affected with this the Duke's impudent
 Answer, and so much the more, because the
 Queen and the corrupted Counsellors had given
 Hopes to his Majesty, that that Man would be
 brought to Moderation, did his Majesty vouch-
 safe to admit him to a Conference. This, *Tbua-*
nus had from *Claude de la Chatre's* printed
 Relation of the Success of the Expedition un-
 dertaken against the *Germans*; he was a hot
 Leaguer, and one of their principal Chiefs.
 However, the King began to dread more the
 Attempts of the *Guises*, than all the Efforts of
 the *Germans*, and did not give in time the
 Troops he had promised to that Duke; who
 knowing the Reasons of those affected Delays,
 wrote to the Duke of *Parma*, Governor of the
Low Countries, who sent to his Assistance 300
 Horse, he received a like Number from *Balogny*
 Governor of *Cambray*; with these Forces, at
 the Duke of *Lorain's* Intreaties, he set out, and
 arrived at *Nancy* on the 27th of *August*.

The *German Army* had already penetrated
 into *Lorain*, and had been joined by some *French*
 Troops under the Command of *de Vauldray*,
 Lord of *Mouy*. A Description of their Opera-
 tions, March and Countermarch, is not in
 my Province; I shall observe only, that after
 having ransacked and plundered that Country
 for a Month together, they resolved to pass
 the *Loire* without any regard at all to the In-
 treaties of the Duke of *Bouillon* and other
French Reformed Chiefs. They sojourned ten
 Days in the *Bassigny*, from whence they march-
 ed

ed to the Fountains of the *Seine*, which they crossed beyond *Chatillon* and the River *Yonne* at *Mailly*; they refused to cross the *Loire* at the Ford of *Neuvy*, tho' the King of *Navarre* had desired them earnestly to do it, and it was very easy for them, the Waters being very low; they chose to march into *Beauisse*, where they might more easily gratify their Gluttony and Rapaciousness.

Henry III.
1587.
Pope Si-
tus V.

What a sad Condition was now that of the Kingdom, devoured by seven Armies all at once! The Duke of *Joyeuse* had one, (*this was some Weeks before the Battle of Coutras*) in *Guienne*, the King of *Navarre* another in the same Province; *Matignon* a third in *Poitou*; *Montmorancy* a fourth in *Languedoc*; *Les Diguieres* a fifth in *Dauphiné*; the Duke of *Guise* a sixth in *Champaign*; the King had his own upon the *Loire* composed of 8000 Horse, *French* and *Germans*, 10000 *French* Foot, and 8000 *Switzers*; Besides that, the Duke of *Aumale* had a Body of Troops in *Picardy*, the Duke of *Mayenne* another in *Burgundy*, and the Prince of *Conty* was assembling Troops in *Anjou* and *Maine*, for the King of *Navarre's* Service.

The Victory of *Coutras* caused no great Alteration in that Grand Army's Conduct, they were already tired with their long Marches, and were sorry for that the King of *Navarre* was not come, immediately after, to meet them; but it was none of his Fault. The *Reisters* mutinied frequently: They were routed at *Auneau*, by the Duke of *Guise*, they lost 2000 Men killed on the spot, and all their Baggage; Baron of *Donab* escaped with nine others. The *Switzers* of that Army treated with the Duke of *Espernon*, and retired into their own Coun-

They are
routed and
forced to
retire.

Henry III. try, in Consideration of the Sum of four hundred thousand Crowns paid unto them; the Duke of *Bouillon* and Monsieur de *Clermont* followed them, and died both at *Geneva* soon after, some say of Poison, others with Grief: However, the Count of *Châtillon* refused to be comprised in that Treaty, and retired with his Troops into *Languedoc*, having beaten in his way *Mandelot* Governor of *Lyons*, who endeavoured to oppose his Passage.

The Remnants of the *Reisters*, and other *German* Troops, were glad to obtain the King's Pass for retiring into their own Country, but many perished upon the Roads with Fatigue, Sickness and other Misfortunes. Such was the Fate of that great Army, which seemed at first able to absorb the whole Kingdom, they ruined themselves, they ransacked the Countries thro' which they passed, without performing any thing of the whole Design for which they had been sent for (b).

The King of *Navarre*, and the Reformed Party were much affected with the News of that Rout. Through an old Error, they had conceived great hopes that such an Army would procure them great Advantages and put them into a Condition of bringing their Enemies to their Terms; not considering enough, that the Arm of Flesh is but Vanity, when a Cause, wherein God Almighty is concerned, is in question. *Du Pleffis*, who had thought always that God would not prosper such Means whereupon they trusted too much, put his Head upon finding some proper Remedy, and agreed with the Viscount of *Turenne*, that it was absolutely requisite in the present Juncture, to

CXCVII.
A General
Political
Assembly
of the Re-
formed
resolved
upon.

BOOK VI. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 487
 to hold a General Political Assembly of all the Henry III.
 Reformed Churches in the Kingdom. At first, 1587.
 the King of *Navarre* rejected that Proposition; Pope Six-
 because he was sensible of the many Complaints tus V.
 that might be brought against his Conduct; and
 the general Administration of Affairs; but be-
 ing persuaded by *du Plessis*; at last he consented
 to the holding of it, which however could not
 be executed till the next *October*, 1588 (c).

During the whole Course of this Year; the cxcviii.
 brave and generous *Les Diguieres* performed Les Digi-
 Wonders in *Dauphiné*, he took several Castles eres's Pres-
 and Towns, and *Montelimar* having been sur- gress in
 prized by the Catholicks on the 16th of *Aug-*
ust, headed by the Count of *la Suze*, was re-
 taken by *Les Diguieres's* Lieutenants, on the
 19th; they had but 1200 Men against above
 3000 strongly retrenched in the Town, having
 three Pieces of Cannon at their Front; never-
 theless, the Catholicks lost in that Day more
 than 2000 killed upon the spot, amongst whom
 were the Count of *la Suze*, many taken Pri-
 soners, several wounded, and very few escaped
 safe (d).

Now we begin the most memorable Year of 1588.
 1588, memorable for the Greatness as well as
 for the Multiplicity of the Events, such as
 the Decisions of the *Sorbonists* against Kings;
 the new Articles of the Leaguers imposed upon
 King *Henry*; the Prince of *Condé's* Death, be-
 ing poisoned; the most outrageous Rebellion
 of the *Parisians*, which forced the King to steal
 out from *Paris*; the *Invincible Armada* de-
 stroyed; the General Estates assembled at *Blois*;
 their violent Proceedings supported by the
 Duke

I i 4

(c) Vie de Mr. *du Plessis Mornay*, Liv. i. pag. 112,
 113. (d) Vide la Vie du Connetable de *les Diguieres*,
 Liv. 2. ch. 12. Liv. iii. ch. 1, 2, 3.

Henry III. Duke of *Guise*; the said Duke and the Cardinal his Brother murdered by the King's Command; the Political Assembly of the Reformed at *Ro-chelle*, and their Proceedings; I shall give a short Account of all these Transactions and Events.

CXCIX. In the preceding Month of *December*, there had been an Assembly of *Sorbonists*, held secretly at *Paris*, who were so bold as to decide, *That when a Prince is not qualified such as he ought to be, he might be justly deprived of the Government, as Tutors are deprived of their Administration, when they do abuse their Trust.* The King being informed, sent for the whole Faculty of Divinity to the *Louvre*, in Presence of the Parliament, at the beginning of *January*, but instead of punishing them as they deserved, he was contented with reproving and rebuking the hottest Leaguers amongst them, and dismissed them safe.

CC. About the beginning of *February*, *Charles Duke of Lorain*, the Duke of *Guise* and other Chiefs of the *League* held an Assembly at *Nancy*, wherein amongst other Things they agreed to require the King to adhere more openly and without any further Tergiversation to their Party, for which End they tendered to his Majesty the following Articles, to be consented to by him. First, To remove from his Presence and from all publick Employment, Charge or Office, those which shall be named by them, Secondly, To cause the Council of *Trent* to be published and received in all his Dominions; superseding however the Execution thereof for some Time, as to those things only which might concern the Exemptions of Collegiate Churches, Abbies and other Churches. Thirdly, To settle the *Holy Inquisition Office*, at least in the best

best Cities of the Kingdom, that being the best and only Means for extirpating Herefy, and those suspected thereof; and that the Officers of the same shall be Foreigners, or at least not Natives of the Places wherein the said Office shall be settled, nor have any Relation therein. Fourthly, To grant the Ecclesiasticks a Faculty of Redeeming perpetually the Estates and Goods that have been formerly, or shall be hereafter alienated, of what Nature soever these Goods might be, and of what Quality soever those who had bought them might be; and that the said Ecclesiasticks shall be obliged to that Redemption in a certain short Time appointed. Fifthly, That he shall put into their Hands certain strong Places, wherein they shall be at liberty to build Fortresses and Castles, and to garison them at the Charge of the Towns, or of the adjacent Country, just as the said Chiefs shall think proper, and that they might do the same, in the Places already possessed by them. Sixthly, That he shall keep at his own Expence a sufficient Number of Troops in *Lorain* for opposing the Entrance of the Foreigners; for which End, as well as for continuing the War, the Goods and Estates of Hereticks shall be peremptorily sold to the best Bidder. Seventhly, Furthermore, those who have been formerly Hereticks or suspected as such, from the Year 1560, shall be assessed to the third, or at least the fourth Part of their Rents to the End of the War, and the Catholics to the Tenth. Eighthly, That those who are any ways related to the Hereticks, shall be obliged to buy at Auction the said Goods and Estates, and shall have the fifth Part of the Price abated; but if they refuse, they shall lose their Right and Pretension upon the said Goods

Henry III.
1588.
Pope Six-
tus V.

Henry III. or Estates. Ninthly, The Sums arising from
 1588. such Sale shall be thus disposed of, the Debts
 Pope Six- contracted by the Chiefs of the *League* for the
 tus V. Support of the War, shall be paid and discharg-
 ed out of hand; and the Remainder be kept
 for the necessary Uses hereafter. Tenthly, That
 no Quarter shall be given to the Prisoners of
 War, unless they find Security for their good
 Behaviour hereafter, and that they shall live
 according to the Doctrines received by the *Ro-
 man* Catholick Church, and pay the Value of
 their Estates, if they have not been already sold,
 and serve the League for three Years together
 without any Stipend (e.)

*The King
 denies
 their Peti-
 tion.*

When these impudent, and unreasonable Ar-
 ticles were brought to the King, he did not de-
 spise them, the Circumstances of Times did not
 allow it, being come back into the City, and
 forced unto it by the Seditions that were full
 rise amongst the *Parisians*; but he delayed his
 Answer, and at last eluded them all. Never-
 theless his Majesty prepared every Thing for
 Extirpating the Reformed; but either because
 he did not exert himself so briskly and cruelly
 as they desired, or because they did not like
 that he should meddle himself with it, and had
 been better pleased to see him protecting the
 Reformed, to have a Pretence of rendering him
 more odious to the Clergy, and the great Cities
 of their Party, or because they thought they
 could succeed better in that Execution than the
 King himself, and have the Pleasure to hear the
 Air resounding with these fine Encomiums,
 THE LEAGUE HAS KILLED TEN THOU-
 SAND HUGONOTS, AND THE KING A THOU-
 SAND;

(e) *Thuan.* L. xc. p. 276. *Mem. de la Ligue*, Tom. II.
 p. 421. — 436.

SAND; for either of these Causes, the Chief ^{Henry III.} of the *League* offended at the King's Denial, ^{1588.} discharged the whole weight of their Fury upon a young innocent Pupil, I mean *Charlotta de la Mark*, Duchefs of *Bouillon*, invading her Dominions, burning, plundering and ransacking whatever they met in their Way (f).

Her Brother the Duke of *Bouillon* had made ^{CCI.} his Will four Days, or according to *Thuanus*, ^{Affair of} two Days before his Death at *Geneva*; where ^{Sedan and} by he constituted the said Lady *Charlotta* his Sister, his only and universal Heiress of all his Goods and Estates, with this Proviso, that she should not alter any thing in his Sovereignities neither as to the Civil, or as to Religion, which was the Reformed, and which she ought to keep and maintain as it was established. She was not to marry, without the Consent of the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Condé* and the Duke of *Montpensier* her Uncle, on the Penalty of forfeiting the Succession to the said Sovereignities. ^{Jametz.}

If the said Lady died without Issue, the Duke of *Montpensier* was to succeed her, then the Prince of *Dombes*, his Son, provided that they should not alter any thing either in the State or in the Religion.

In Case of any Alteration in these things, the King of *Navarre*, and after him the Prince of *Condé*, were substituted to the two former Princes.

The Lord of *la Noue* was named Executor of the said Will: The News of that Death was immediately sent from *Geneva*, to the King of *Navarre*, and then to the Princess *Charlotta* at *Sedan*. But so soon as it was made publick, the Duke of *Lorain* improving the Opportunity,

Henry III. 1588. Pope Sixtus V. nity, laid Siege to *Jamez*, at the Instigation of the Duke of *Guise*, on the 16th of *January* with 5000 Men, Horse and Foot; after eleven Months Siege the Town was obliged to surrender, the Governor thereof with the Forces he had with him retired into the Castle, which held out till the middle of *July* 1589, when, having no hopes of Succour, he was obliged to capitulate. During that Siege, the Besiegers had much to suffer from the Besieged, not only in the Sallies wherein they were worsted oftentimes, but likewise by their Artifices; besides that the *Lorain* Troops were routed at *Douzi*, where they lost above 300 Men, 200 Prisoners, and most Part of their Artillery and Baggage (g).

CCII. The King of *Navarre's* Joy for the good Success of his Arms in *Xaintonge*, *Poitou*, &c. was much interrupted by the melancholy News of the Prince of *Condé's* inopinate Death, which happened on the 5th of *March*, in the Town of *St. John of Angely*; he was suddenly taken ill on the 3d of the same Month half an Hour after Supper, and suffered the most violent Pains till the 5th. His Corpse having been opened, all the Symptoms of a violent Poison were found upon him. Whereof the King of *Navarre* having been informed, he sent positive Orders to arrest and prosecute with all the Rigour of the Law all those who were suspected, and should be convicted of the Fact: Two of his Pages most suspected, ran away; *John Ancelin Brillaud*, formerly a Solicitor in the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, and now in the Prince's Household, charged with having provided the two Pages with Horses, and other Necessaries

necessaries for making their Escape, was seized, condemned to Death and executed, being drawn in Quarters by four Horses; he charged the Deceased's Widow with being privy to the Fact.

Henry III.
1588.
Pope Six-
tus V.

She was confined close Prisoner, tried, and condemned to Death, and to be put upon the Rack before her Execution, to make her confess her Advisers. All this was done at the Instances and Pursuit of the King of Navarre, and by Judges that were not thought competent, and notwithstanding the repeated Orders of the Parliament of *Paris*, to whom only it belongs to take Cognizance of the Affairs of the Princes of the Blood, the Peers of the Realm and their Consorts, in criminal Matters. Nevertheless, whereas that unfortunate Princess was then gone three Months with Child, the Execution of the Sentence passed upon her was put off till the fortieth Day after her Delivery, during which Time, she was kept close Prisoner under a strong Guard in the Castle of *St. John d'Angely*, being allowed however the Company of some Ladies of Quality, among whom the Lady of *Brisambourg*, Sister to the Marshal of *Biron*, and *John of Roche-Beaucour de St. Mesme's* Lady, were especially named to be present at her Delivery. That Princess's Condition could not be more sad than it was; big with Child, under Sentence of Death and the smart Remorses of a Conscience guilty of one of the most heinous Crimes: for tho' the Bill of Attainder and the Sentence given in consequence thereof, was reversed about seven Years after, by the Parliament of *Paris*, nevertheless, when we consider, that the Lord *du Plessis* had been one of the Judges deputed by the King of *Navarre* to try her, that far from having any Interest

The Princess his Consort, charged with the Fact.
She is tried, condemned and reprieved.

Henry III. interest in her Condemnation, they had the greatest one that she should be found innocent, because of her numerous and most illustrious Relations and Friends, who bore a great Sway in the Reformed Party; when we consider that when the Parliament of *Paris* took Cognizance of her Affair, the Prince of *Conti*, and the Count of *Soissons*, Brothers to the Deceased, had not sufficient Time allowed them for bringing in their Charge and Evidence, and especially that she had promised to turn Catholick with her Son, soon after the Issue of her Affair, not willing, as she saith, to do it before, lest the Reformed should say, that she had redeemed her Life at the Expence of her Religion. To this we may add several other concurrent Circumstances, which joined together, afford us Reason enough to suspect that the Parliament of *Paris* sought either to shew their Resentment for the little Regard paid to their Commands, by the Judges Deputies at *St. John de gely*, seven Years before; or to comply with the King's earnest Desire rather than to do a strict Justice. Howbeit, that Princess having been delivered of a Prince, in the Month of *September* following, the joyful Hopes which the People conceived of the Son, saved the Mother's Life; other Affairs of great Importance, and the Circumstances of Times, obliged the Prosecutors to supersede the Execution of the Sentence. She continued Prisoner till the Year 1595; when the King of *Navarre*, then King of *France*, caused the Duke of *la Tremouille* and *Thouars*, with several others of her nearest Relations and Allies, to tender him a Petition, praying to have her tried a-new by the Parliament of *Paris*, &c. Which Petition

And at
last absol-
ved seven
Years af-
ter by the
Parlia-
ment of
Paris.

tion was readily granted, the Issue of which Henry III. Tryal was such as above said (b). 1588.

Such was the lamentable End of *Henry Prince of Condé*, adorned with all the Virtues of his Father without any of his Blemishes. In this Prince, Fortitude and Humanity, Valour and Courtesy, Prudence and Liberality, Eloquence and Majesty, vied one with another; nothing was wanting in him but better Times and a better Fortune; for he was brought up and exercised in Adversities during the whole Course of his short Life, (he was but 35 Years old when he died) he was near to be undone as well as his Father at the Affair of *Amboise*; then exposed with him to the continual Dangers of the Civil Wars, before he was able to bear Arms. After his Father's Murther he saw himself tossed to and fro by the like Civil Wars, escaping narrowly from *Bartholomew's-day Massacre*, he redeemed his Life by his Captivity, and his Liberty by his Exile: Then being carried away by the violent Stream of the Civil Wars, he returned from *Germany* into *France* with an Army, the Command whereof he readily delivered to the Duke of *Alençon*, and could obtain nothing better after so many Dangers and Troubles than the Town of *St. John of Angely* for his Retreat, having been unjustly disappointed in his Expectation of the Government of *Picardy* which had been solemnly granted him, and while he endeavoured to enter into it by force, having taken *La Fere*, he was involved in new Calamities; then he wandered from Place to Place, from *England* into the *Low Countries*, and from thence into

Pope Sixtus V.
The Prince of Condé's Character and Life.

(b) Vie de M. Du Plessis Liv. i. p. 113, 114. Mem. de Mr. Du Plessis Tom. I. Thuan. Tom. IV. Lib. xc. p. 279, 280. Tom. V. Lib. cxii. p. 534. Lib. cxvii. p. 697, 698, 699.

Henry III. into Germany, soliciting in vain the Succours
 1588. and Assistance of the Protestant Princes; at his
 Pope Six- Return passing through *Savoy* incognito with a
 tus V. very small Retinue and very meanly drest, he
 was taken and stript of every thing, and narrowly escaped being murdered. Then the Leaguers having renewed the War, as he was besieging *Brouage*, deceived by the vain Hopes of taking possession of *Angers*' Castle, he left the Siege, crossed the *Loire*, was in great danger of being routed, and had the Mortification to see the Dissipation of his fine Troops and he himself obliged to put his Security in flight, and to look for a Retreat in the Isle of *Guernsey*. Then having overcome that Calamity, thro' the generous Assistance of Queen *Elizabeth*, he returned to *Rockelle*, was present at the Battle of *Coutras*, where he was in great danger of his Life, having had his Horse killed under him, and being himself wounded; at last he ended his troublesome Life in the lamentable manner we have said. He left two Daughters and a Son, of his two Wives, viz. *Catharine* Daughter of *Mary of Cleves* his first Wife, and *Eleanor* Daughter of *Charlotta de la Tremouille* his second Wife; his Son was *Henry*, born six Months after his Decease.

If the Enemies of that great Man and most illustrious Prince, if the Duke of *Guise* himself, who had admired and dreaded his most incomparable Virtues during his Life, could not refrain from Tears when he heard the News of his Death; what were not the Anguishes, Grievs and Lamentations of his Friends? The King of *Navarre* his first Cousin was deeply affected with that Loss, at first he shed a Flood of Tears, saying, *that he had lost his own Right Arm*; he went to *St. John*, and ordered a strict Inquiry to be

be made after the Guilty and their Accomplishes, and to punish them with the utmost Severity. As to the Reformed Party, they resented that Loss as the greatest that could befall them, the Trust they put in him was so much the greater, that they were well satisfied as to the Uprightness of his Intentions, and his stedfast Adherence to their Religion. And indeed considering that he was not first Prince of the Blood, one may safely depend upon this, that Ambition nor any other such human Motive, but a thorough Persuasion grounded upon a certain Knowledge of the Truths of the Reformed Religion caused his strict Adherence to it. We have seen him withstanding the hardest Tryals, while the King of *Navarre* yielded, one may say, at the first Summons of *Charles IX.* on *Bartholomew's Day*; and if after several Days Resistance he surrendered himself at last thro' human Frailty and the deceitful Insinuations of the Minister *des Rosiers*, he improved the first Opportunity not only of making his Escape, but also a publick Recantation of his Fault at *Strasbourg*, and let slip no Opportunity of shewing forth his disinterested Attachment to the Reformed Party, no wonder if he was so much regretted by them after his Death.

As to the *Parisians*, their blind Zeal made them run almost mad upon this Occasion, they were overjoyed at this melancholy News, thinking and firmly believing that the Prince's Death ought to be ascribed to their fervent Prayers, their Processions and other superstitious Acts of their Religion, and be considered as a heavy Judgment of God upon that Enemy of true Religion, (for so their seditious Preachers styled

Henry III.
1588.
Pope Sixtus. V.

Henry III. him) who had taken him away suddenly, and, as one may say, by Miracle (j).

1588.
Pope Six-
tus V.

As to the most Christian King it cannot be determined certainly whether he was glad of or sorry for that Death, tossed from the publick Commotions of the *Parisians* to the private Affections and Passions of his Favourites, his poor Soul always bent to Laziness longed after a Rest which the seditious Faction of the *Leaguers* would not allow him to enjoy.

CCIII. They had a strong Party even in the King's Council, which was increased by the Accession of *L'Espinaç* Archbishop of *Lyons*. We have observed above, that that Prelate having professed formerly the Reformed Religion feigned at this time to be one of their most mortal Enemies, and countenanced the League underhand; being one day in the Month of *February* in the King's Council, he inveighed bitterly against the King of *Navarre*, saying that he was unworthy to succeed to the Crown. The Duke of *Espèrnon*, who was then present, and known to be in the Interest of that Prince, could not refrain his Resentment, but ask'd the Prelate before the whole Council, whether a Man who kept a criminal Conversation with his own Sister, who sold every thing in the Church, even the most sacred, who had wasted riotously, and in shameful and scandalous Debaucheries, not only his own, but also his Relations Estates, was a fit Man to be invested with the first Dignity of the Church? The Archbishop was the more offended at this, as he was sensible the Duke had said nothing but plain Truths. However, having in vain petitioned the King for a Satisfaction, he declared himself openly for the *Guilian* Party, and was said to have advised the Duke

Duke of *Guise* to hasten the Execution of his Designs, and to have hurried upon him the fatal Catastrophe which put an end to his unjust Ambition together with his Life. He published a Libel against *Espernon*, wherein he compared him with *Gaverston* Favourite to *Edward II.* and threatned him with a like Fate. Thenceforward that Lord went by no other Name amongst the Leaguers but that of *Gaverston*, they took it to be the Anagram of his Name, and true it is that by transposing the Letters of the Name *NOGUAREST* you will find that of *GAVERSTON*; but how will that infer a Similitude of Fate from the Similitude of Letters? Nothing but a violent Passion can be satisfied with it (*i*).

Henry III.
1583.
Pope Six-
tus V.

Now the *Parisians*, sensible of the greatness of their unnatural Rebellion, expecting no favour from the King, if once awakened from his Sloth, he undertook to do himself Justice, were in the greatest Anxieties; they dreaded him, tho' they had for him the utmost Contempt; therefore they insisted warmly with the Duke of *Guise* and sent him every day Messages one after another to hasten his coming to the City to put himself at their Head. That Lord wavering between the Greatness of the Attempt and the unavoidable Consequences thereof, and the Danger wherein his Friends and Associates were at *Paris* of being discovered and punished after their Deserts, was at a stand, considering what to do: at last, like another *Cæsar*, he resolved to pass the *Rubicon*, but first of all he very prudently desired to be more thoroughly informed of the true state of the City, and having been acquainted that in the sixteen Wards thereof there was a certain Number of Men

CCIV.
*What preceded the Barri-
cades of
Paris.*

Henry III. ready to rise in Arms at the Day and Hour appointed, he ordered to reduce the Wards to the Number, of five, not to be obliged to divide his Forces for keeping so many Places, whereby he would have been weakened too much, and to reduce likewise the Number of the Chiefs. Then not trusting too much in the Trainband Officers, he thought proper to send *Urbain De Laval* Lord of *Bois Dauphin*, *Charles De Brissac*, *Meneville*, *De Gomeron*, *De Richebourg*, *Guedon* Lord of *Esclavolles* and of *Chamois*, having all a great Interest either by their Birth or their Offices; besides them he sent some others of less Note, and 500 Horses under the Command of the Duke of *Aumale*, to be quartered in the neighbouring Villages of *Paris* (!).

In the mean while *La Chapelle Marteau* and *Bussy Le Clerc*, the two Firebrands of the League in that City, plotted to kill the King and the Duke of *Espernon* together; it was an easy matter for them, as they thought, if his Majesty and the Duke went masked during the Carnival, as they used to do. But being informed of the Plot by the Chancellor, who had it from *Nicholas Poulain* above mentioned, he did forbear such things. How great soever was the Danger he had been in, it was not sufficient to awake him out of his natural Sloth, and to watch more narrowly for his own Preservation, the base *Villequier* giving him always to understand that he was too well beloved by the *Parisians*, and that they would never attempt any thing against his sacred Person, affirming impudently that whatever was reported by *Poulain* and others were but Calumnies; nay, he threatened *Poulain* himself with Death if he continued to trouble the King with his false Reports.


Reports. *La Chapelle Marteau* had already Henry III. the Keys of *St. Denys's* Gate in his Possession, 1588. having bribed the Keeper thereof; he tried Pope Sixtus V. likewise to get the Keys of *St. Martin's* Gate, but *Le Comte* Keeper thereof was faithful to the King; whereupon that wicked Man charged him before a Magistrate with being an Heretick, that he might by that means invalidate his Evidence. He went further, and *Laval De Bois Dauphin* having been arrested for a large Sum of Money by his Creditors, he rescued him out of the Serjeant's Hands as he was carrying to Goal; he did several other violent things whereat the Magistrates connived, because the King, out of a prodigious Supineness, took no notice of it, tho' done against his own Authority, and tho' he was faithfully informed thereof. Being grown more audacious through Impunity, reckoning themselves 20000 armed Men strong in the City, they plotted to attack the *Louvre*, and having slain the King's Guards, to seize his Majesty, and murder the Duke of *Espernon* and all those that were suspicious unto them. The Plot was declared to the King by the same *Nicholas Poulain* one of the Accomplices, who set down in writing his Deposition by his Majesty's Command. This happened on the 22d of *April*; the next Day the King caused a great Number of Coats of Mail to be brought publicly into the *Louvre*, that Sight cast a Damp in the Conspirators Minds, they questioned not but that their Plot was discovered, and thought themselves undone; and indeed so they would have been, had the King persisted in exerting himself strenuously: it would have been very easy for him to take all these Arch-Rebels as in a Net, had he sent a main Force to seize them in the House of *Chapelle Marteau*, where they

Henry III. were assembled, as he was earnestly intreated to do by *Poulain*: But having suffered himself to be imposed upon thro' the Fallaciousness of his own Mother and *Villequier*, whose Counsels suited better his own Inclinations, he lost irrecoverably the favourable Opportunity, of doing justice and revenging the Injury done to his most sacred Majesty, by those vile Wretches. In the mean while the Duke of *Guise* was come secretly to *Gonesse* not far from *Paris*, in order to take his Quarters in the Suburb of *St. Laurence*, to be ready to assist his Party; but understanding that the King had sent for 4000 *Switzers* that were quartered at *Lagny* upon *Marne*, he went back in all haste to *Soissons*, having sent word to *La Chapelle* not to be disheartened, that he would be with them very soon.

Poulain gave faithful notice of every thing almost every Hour, but in vain; nay, the King began to suspect the Truth of his Depositions, and asked him whether he was not a Reformed? Or whether he had not been suborned by some Reformed to say such things? Nevertheless upon *Poulain's* earnestly beseeching his Majesty to send him to Prison immediately, and to order that such Persons as he should name should be likewise arrested, and if they did not own the Facts wherewith he charged them, he was ready and willing to suffer the most cruel Death, the King rested satisfied with him, but bewitched by his Mother and *Villequier* he took no further Measures for preventing the Mischief that befel him a few Days after. Notwithstanding his repeated Prohibitions, the Duke of *Guise* arrived at *Paris* the 9th of *May*, with a small Retinue, to show the better his great Assurance, or rather Impudence, and how much he scorned the King's Authority; and alighted without being

being expected at the Queen Mother's House, she was surprized to see him, and after a short Conference, having sent word to the King, that she and the Duke of *Guise* desired to confer with him, they went to the *Louvre*, she being carried in her Chair, and he walking. The King received him with a sad Countenance, he asked him why he was come against his Orders? He answered, that he was come first to tender his Majesty his most humble Duties and Services; then to lay his Head at his Feet, if he was found guilty of the Crimes laid to his Charge; lastly, to die with several of his Friends, that were destined to destruction as it was publickly rumoured. At this it is said that the King altered his Countenance, and stood mute for a while; but having recovered himself, the rest of the Conversation passed in mutual Expostulations, which being ended, he let the Duke go unmolested, instead of arresting him as he ought to have done, or of murdering him, as he had resolved to do, when he consented to confer with him.

When the Duke went out of the *Louvre*, the Streets through which he passed were so crouded with People, that he could hardly walk; Ladies from the Windows poured perfumed Waters upon him, and strew'd the Streets with Flowers; an old Woman carried her Veneration for him so far, that having broken through the Croud, she told him, that she would die now with Joy since God had granted her the Blessing of seeing him, whereupon she touched his Garment with her Beads. Being come to his House, he prepared himself for tendering a Petition to the King which had been drawn up at *Soissons*, wherein he demanded that the general States of the Kingdom should be assem-

Henry III. 1588. Pope Sixtus V.  bled for working its Reformation. The next day the King commanded the Guards before the *Louvre*, *French* and *Switzers* to be doubled, which hindered not the Duke from coming in the Morning to confer with his Majesty ; on the 11th the King received him again with a sourer Countenance than the Day before, and in the Evening he commanded the Keys of the City-Gates to be brought unto him.

Barricades of Paris.

The 12th of *May* about three of the clock in the Morning, 4000 *Switzers* and 2000 *French* entered the City, and took possession of the *Market-Halls*, of *St. John's Church-yard*, of *Greve's-Place*, of the *New-Market*, near the *little Bridge*, in order to seize likewise *Mauvert's-Place* ; but had the King and the Kingdom been actually sold to the Duke of *Guise* by the Queen Mother and the profligate *Villequier*, they could not have betrayed both into his hands in a more odious and scandalous Way than they did on this Occasion ; for the King having taken that Step, ought to have pursued his Measures with Vigour, that he might keep in awe his rebellious Subjects, defeat their wicked Designs, and bring their Ringleaders to a condign Punishment ; instead thereof he sent them Orders, at the Queen Mother and *Villequier's* Persuasion, not to offer any Violence to any of the Inhabitants, but to sit still and quiet till they were attack'd first, then they might repel Force by Force. The Inhabitants seeing in the Morning the abovesaid Places full of Soldiers, were struck with Terror, the Duke of *Guise* himself thought that he was undone, when the News thereof was brought to him ; but their Consternation lasted not long, for *Lewis Breton de Grillon*, Colonel of the King's Guards, who was with the
Marshal

Marshal of *Biron*, having Orders to march to *Henry III.*
Maubert's-Place thro' the *little Bridge*, met ^{1588.}
 in his way the Seditious of that Place, who *Pope Six-*
 were in great Number, and opposed his Pas- *tus V*
 sage: willing to force it by fighting them, he
 received the King's Orders to desist; at which,
 as he was a true brave *Frenchman*, and an ex-
 perienced Officer, he fretted, saying that his
 Majesty and the Kingdom were betrayed; and
 so they were indeed, he was obliged to yield,
 and that insolent Rabble, puffed up with that
 Success, ran throughout the City, and incited
 others to follow their Example. The King
 had Notice every Minute of whatever was
 done, but was stupified so much, that instead
 of giving proper Orders, he consented by the
 Queen Mother's Advice to *Villequier's* Propo-
 sition; who offered to ride himself on Horse-
 back thro' the Streets, and exhort the People
 to desist, to fear nought, to open their Shops,
 and attend their Business as usual, and to com-
 mand the Soldiery in the King's Name, not to
 stir, or offer any Injury to the Inhabitants,
 which he did; but was laughed at by the Rab-
 ble, who growing more and more seditious
 and wicked through Impunity, began to chain
 the Streets, and to shut up the Avenues with
 Hogsheds full of Earth; the Windows were
 soon furnished with abundance of Stones, and
 other like Materials for throwing upon the
 Soldiers or others that would have offered to
 make any Resistance: This was called the
 BARRICADES, they were carried so far, and
 with such Expedition, that before Noon, they
 were brought almost to the very Gates of the
Louvre, and those 6000 Men, *Switzers* and
French, which had been introduced into the
 City the Night before, saw themselves shut up
 so

Henry III. so closely, that it was impossible for them to escape; for, in pursuance of the Court's Orders, they had tamely suffered the Mutineers to chain up the Streets, and to advance their Retrenchments, without daring to stir, no more than marble Statues. The Duke of *Guise* had kept to his House most part of the Morning, with his Friends and a few armed Men; but about Mid-day he went out into the next Street, having on him a Riding-Coat, and showing a stout Countenance, he walked with the Archbishop of *Lyons*, answering to the Messages dispatched to him almost every Minute by the Conspirators. He saw himself in a Condition of giving Law to him of whom he ought to receive it, and improved that Opportunity so far, that the King stood as it were obliged to him, for his having suffered his Guards to retire safe, instead of cutting them to pieces, as he might easily have done. They had been surrounded, as aforesaid, by the Seditious, and were in the utmost danger, without any means to escape, when the Duke of *Guise* coming, at his Persuasion, the Seditious let them go disarmed, two by two, with a Stick in their Hands, and at last at his Intreaties their Arms were restored to them. As to the *Switzers* that were in the *New-Market-Place*, it fared not so well with them as with the *French* Guards, for above sixty were killed or wounded with Musket-Shots or Stones from the Windows.

For stirring up the Mob, a Rumour had been spread by the Duchess of *Montpensier's* Suggestion, that the King intended, as soon as the City should be reduced to his Power, to have the good Catholicks who opposed the pernicious Designs of the Politicians to be hang'd and

strangled before the Palace, for which purpose he had caused several Gibbets to be erected, and had sent for many Executioners which he had kept concealed in the said Palace all the Night: Tho' the Falshood of that Report was easy to be discovered, nevertheless it cannot be conceived how easily that Tale got Credit amongst the Rabble, whereby they were incensed to the last Degree.

Henry III.
1588.
Pope Six-
tus V.

In the Evening, several Corps de Guard were set in the Cross-Streets and publick Places, and the Provost of the Merchants having sent unto them the Watch-word in the King's Name, as usual, they refused it, but received it from the Duke of *Guise*, which was the first Token they gave of an open Rebellion. The Night was spent in Troubles, Anxieties and Fears on one Side, and great Motions on the other; the Duke of *Guise* being solicitous for what the foreign Powers would think and say of his Behaviour, sent the Count of *Brissac* to the Earl of *Stafford*, the *English* Ambassador, for to fright him if possible, considering the Danger he was in of being forced and murdered in his own House by the Rabble, still incens'd against Queen *Elizabeth*, for the Execution of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*; therefore he had Orders to offer to the said Ambassador a Safe-Guard from the said Duke, and at the same time to have the House searched by some of his Attendants, because it had been maliciously spread abroad, that the Earl kept armed Men concealed in his own House. But all the fine Rhetorick and Devices of *Brissac* proved fruitless, his Excellency answered him in a Way perfectly suitable to his Quality and Character, and having spoke freely his Mind concerning what had been done, he

What followed that Event.

Henry III. he told him at last, *That being a Person invested*
 1588. *with a publick Character, he wanted no other*
 Pope Six- *Security, therefore he should not command the*
 tus V. *Gates of his House to be shut up, as he advised*
him to do, nor receive any Safe-Guard from the
Duke; That he was not come into FRANCE only
to remain at PARIS, but to attend the King
wherever he should be.

The Duke finding himself disappointed in that respect, thought proper however, for his own Reputation, to intreat the Seditious not to offer any Injury to the *English*, which was granted accordingly.

Such was the Success of the Barricadoes, so much renowned in the History of this Reign; a Day, wherein the Royal Majesty was trampled under foot; the Duke of Guise's Power and Authority settled, and his Rashness, attended with a Success far exceeding his Hopes, at least for a Time. It is credibly reported that when Sixtus V. a Man of very quick Parts, never forgetting an Injury, and who knew perfectly well how to maintain his Authority, was told of the Coming of the Duke of Guise to Paris, and to the Court, he exclaimed suddenly, *Ob! the rash Man, who so imprudently puts himself in the Claws of a Prince justly incensed against him.* But being told at the same time, that he had been kindly received by the King, and let go without any Harm; *Ob! the cowardly and silly Prince, says he, who lets escape an Enemy, born for his own Destruction, when he has a fair Opportunity in his own hands, of being revenged of him.*

The King's Flight. The King's shameful Patience on the preceding Day, was attended this Day with a Design no less shameful, tho' more safe, viz. To steal out from Paris, as he had done fourteen
 Years

Years before from *Warsaw*; whether his Mother and *Villequier* were privy to it, or whether he consulted only his own Fears, that I can't tell precisely, tho' *Thuanus* seems to insinuate, that he acted by his Mother's Consent, but *Pasquier* denies it. However being told that the Seditious were about to surround the *Louvre* on all sides with 8000 Men, and would at any rate seize him, he went out about Mid-day, the 13th of *May*, thro' the new Gate to the *Tuilleries Gardens*, where he was wont to walk, and where having put on his Boots in all haste, he ran away with those of his Servants and Courtiers that could follow him, some on Horseback without Saddle or Stirrups, others walking, all in a miserable Condition, they having had no Time to prepare themselves for such a Journey. He lay that Night at *Trappes*, and the next Day he arrived at *Chartres* (m). A few Days after, the *Parisians* sent a sham Procession of *Capucins*, feigning to crave the King's Pardon, and that he would return to *Paris*.

Henry III.
1588.
Pope Six-
tus V.

As soon as the King of *Navarre* received the News of what had been done at *Paris*, and the sad Condition the Most Christian King was reduced to, he dispatch'd the Lord of *Monluet de Rambouillet* to his Majesty, with offers of his and the Reformed Party's Services, intreating him most earnestly to accept of them; but tho' the King was very well pleased with these Offers, nevertheless he durst not admit the Envoy to his Audience, lest he should increase the Jealousies of the League.

That occasioned the feigned Misunderstanding between the King of *Navarre* and the Count

(m) *Thuan.* Lib. xc. p. 282 — 289. *Pasquier*, ses Lettres Tom. I. Liv. xii p. 781 — 790.

Henry III. Count of *Soissons*; this last indeed, had no great reason to be well-pleased with his Cousin, he had been amused with the Promises of marrying the Princess of *Bearn*; she, thinking that her Brother was in earnest, had made no Resistance to the first Impressions which the Count made upon her Heart, even at the first Sight, and on his part he was exceedingly well-pleased with the Match. But after eight or nine Months Courting, and several great Services done, he saw himself no further forwarded as to the Conclusion, than the very first Day, which made him uneasy. These outward Appearances of Discontent were very favourable for the present Purposes, they served to conceal the better the real Designs of that Prince's leaving the King of *Navarre*, in order to return to the King of *France*; and it is what most part of the Historians of those Days have not been acquainted with, having taken this Separation as a real Rupture between these two Princes. But the Truth is, that the Count of *Soissons* was fully enamoured with Princess *Catharine*, and would not have desisted on any account; that however, firm to the Interest of the House of *Bourbon*, which was his own, he yielded to the Sollicitations of his Friends, especially the Marshal of *Aumont*, and showing forth an eager Desire of being reconciled with the Most Christian King, he took his Leave of the King of *Navarre* at *Rockelle*, in the beginning of *July*; that *du Plessis* improved this Opportunity for trying again to reconcile the two Kings; and that the Count of *Soissons* was charged with a particular Instruction from the King of *Navarre* for bringing about that Reconciliation; but tho' his Majesty was satisfy'd in himself with the Solidity and Strength of the

1588.
Pope Six-
tus V.

the Reasons brought by the King of *Navarre*, Henry III. 1587. Pope Sixtus V. nevertheless he dared not to declare openly his Mind; on the contrary, he acted the Part of an irreconcilable Enemy, as we shall say presently (n).

It was impossible for the Duke of *Guise* to dissemble his Grief and Astonishment when he heard the King was gone. At first, he made bitter Complaints and Reproaches to the Queen-Mother, telling her she had deceived him, and that his Enemies had advised her to it, to render him odious and criminal in the Eyes of all *France*, and of all Sovereign Powers: But afterwards he was mollified, and made humble Submissions to that Princess.

When the News of the *Parisian* Revolution reached the Provinces, *Orleans*, *Bourges*, *Amiens*, *Abbeville* and several other Places where the *Leaguers* were strongest, they declared themselves openly for that Party: The Cardinal of *Guise* debauched *Rheims* and *Chalons* into their Interest; *D'Espernon* was ill-received in his Government of *Normandy*, the Commandants of most part of the Towns refusing to admit him.

At the same Time, the News of the INVINCIBLE ARMADA having put to Sea, and of the great Preparations of the Duke of *Parma* in the *Low-Countries*, concurring with other Circumstances of the Advantages got already in *France* by the *League*, gave them no less Audaciousness, than Anxieties and Apprehensions to the King, and disposed him to desire the good Offices of the Queen his Mother, for Negotiating an Agreement. The Duke of *Guise* on his part desired the same, that he might afterwards play his Game more surely, and

(n) Vie de Du Plessis Mornay, Liv. I.

Henry III. and have the King in his power ; that he might
 1588. govern all, and attempt whatever he pleased.

Pope Six-
 tus V.

Therefore the Queen-Mother, set herself to
 work, not for seeking Means of making a solid
 Agreement, but rather for bringing Matters to
 such a Point, that there might be always Need
 of her. So the Duke of *Guise* drew up an
 ample Petition in the Name of the Princes,
 the City of *Paris*, and of all the Catholicks
 in the Kingdom ; containing in Substance, the
 same Articles which had been agreed in the
 Conference of *Nancy*, and which had be-
 fore been proposed to the King as abovesaid.
 The Queen-Mother went to *Chartres*, and
 presented the said Petition to the King ; he
 answered that he had always a great Desire to
 unite all his Subjects in one Religion, to ease
 them of the Oppressions which the Calamities
 of the Times had brought upon them, to hear
 all their Complaints, and to study means to
 satisfy them ; to which End he was resolved
 to summon the States of the Kingdom to
 meet at *Blois*, in *August* next, where he
 would efficaciously take off the Fears the Ca-
 tholicks were pre-possess'd with, of falling un-
 der the Dominion of *Hugonots* ; he granted a
 general Amnesty for whatever had been done
 out of a good Zeal. But the Reconciliation
 was not perfected till the *Spanish Armada* ap-
 peared in the *Channel*, which alarmed the King ;
 for tho' he knew that it was intended against
England, yet he feared that they might make
 a Descent upon *France* ; and that the League,
 unless he agreed timely with them, would open
 some Door to the *Spaniards*, and buy their As-
 sistance at the Cost of the State, as they had al-
 ready done. This determined him to sign an
 Agreement with the Chiefs of the *League*,
 especially

especially with the Duke of *Guise*, he granted him the Office of Great-Master of the *French Gendarmerie*, which in effect was but a Periphrasis of the word Constable, he created him Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom; and published on the 4th of *July* an Edict of Re-union, wherein the Reformed were handled very severely. This done, the King and the Duke of *Guise* had an Interview at *Chartres*, by the Queen-Mother's Interposition.

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tus V.

All these Favours heaped one upon another, would not however satisfy the *Leaguers*, unless the Cardinal of *Bourbon* was honoured with some new Pre-eminence, which might flatter his vain Ambition, and give them a plausible Pretence for breaking the Order of the Succession. So on the 17th of *August*, he was obliged to grant Letters Patents, whereby the said Cardinal was acknowledged first Prince of the Blood; this the *Leaguers* had the most eagerly pursued.

But tho' the King feigned outwardly to have broken off all manner of Correspondence with the King of *Navarre*, nevertheless he sent at this very time Mr. *de St. Colombe*, Colonel (*Mestre de Camp*) in the King's Guards, he was a *Bearnese*, and consequently a natural Subject to the King of *Navarre*; under Pretence of a Journey into his own Country for settling his Affairs, he was to pay his Respects to his *Navarrese* Majesty then at *Rochelle*, which he did accordingly, and delivered secretly his Message, which was to the following Purport; That the Most Christian King was indispensibly obliged to convene the States of the Kingdom and there to disinherit his *Navarrese* Majesty, unless by a publick Recantation he should renounce the Reformed and adhere to the Catholick Religion;

Henry III. 1588. Pope Sixtus V. ligion; That if he would comply with these Terms and return to Court, he was sure that every thing should succeed in the States, after their Wishes, and that their common Enemies would be confounded; That being united together, it would be easy for him to resume his former Authority, and restore Peace in the Kingdom.

The King of *Navarre* was exceedingly moved by *St. Colombe's* Arguments, and in truth had it not been for *Du Pleffis's* warm Remonstrances, he would have complied with every thing which the King required of him, not considering that there was no Security for him, and that the Duke of *Guise* was already gone too far to desist, upon his change of Religion, being so strongly supported within and without the Kingdom; so that he ran the Hazard to lose all his Friends, without being sure of conquering a single Enemy. These Considerations prevailed at last upon his Mind, he dismissed *St. Colombe* with a respectful and dutiful Answer to his Most Christian Majesty, excusing himself for not accepting his most gracious Offers, because his Conscience did not allow him to yield to the Terms proposed unto him (o).

The *Clergy* advanced five hundred thousand Crowns for the making of War against Heresy; and two Armies were raised to be maintained with that Money: The Duke of *Mayenne* had the Command of one, and the King offered the other to the Duke of *Guise*; but thinking that it was better for him to keep about the King's Person, than to be in the Armies, he declined it, and resolved to abide at Court. The Duke of *Nevers* had then the Command

(o) *Vie de Du Pleffis Mornay*, Liv. i. p. 116, 117.

Command of that Army, which was to act in *Poitou, Xaintonge, &c.* Henry III. 1588.

Tho' the *Leaguers* were carrying on things with so high a Hand, they had however no great Reasons to brag of their Success this Year. Their Pride was extremely humbled by the total Rout of the SPANISH ARMADA. *Philip II.* the main Support of the *League*, had taken for his Share, in the general Scheme the Catholick Powers had laid, for the Destruction of the Protestant and Reformed Religion, the Invasion of *Great Britain*, beginning by *England*; for that End, he made for five or six Years, at a prodigious Expence, such vast Preparations both by Sea and Land, but especially by Sea, as seemed sufficient to absorb the whole World: And indeed had he succeeded, as it was likely, I don't know what human Power of the World could have opposed his Aim to an universal Monarchy? *Great Britain* and *Ireland* being united to his former Dominions, the *Low Countries* would have been forced of course to yield to his Yoke; *France* was not in a Condition to cope with him, the *Leaguers* would have helped him to the Conquest thereof, they had already made two Attempts upon *Bologn*, that his Land-Forces might have a Sea-Port, where they could make a Descent. But God Almighty was pleased to chastise their Pride. That DREADFUL ARMADA did not find the *English*, either lull'd asleep by the vain Treaties of Peace, with which the Council of *Spain* sought to amuse them; or divided amongst themselves about Religion; or terrified by that enormous Force; whereof the *Spaniards* had made their Boast, backed with the Thunders of *Sixtus V.* against Queen *Elizabeth*: But all perfectly united together,

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gether, all stoutly resolute and well-prepared to defend the Honour of their generous Queen, and the Liberty of their Native Country. I don't intend to give any particular Account of that Expedition, so well known in this Country. I shall observe only, that of that vast Number of Ships, most part whereof were of a monstrous Size, and which had been Six Years in preparing and equipping, and had cost above twelve Millions of Crowns, before they could sail from *Lisbonne* most part in less than three Weeks were destroyed one way or other, with the Loss of ten thousand Men either killed or drowned, and a thousand Prisoners that were brought to *London*; some of whom perceiving sensibly Almighty God's Finger in their Defeat, were so impious as to say that for certain, *the Lord Jesus had turned Lutheran, or else they should have succeeded in their Attempt (p).*

CCVI.
*The Duke
of Savoy
seizes the
Marquis-
ate of Sa-
luc.*

But if the *League* was so unkindly treated by the *English*, their good Friends in *France* made them amends for it, as full as they could. *Charles Emmanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, always ready to fish in troubled Waters, improved this Opportunity, for seizing on most part of the Marquisate of *Saluces*, upon very frivolous Pretensions; he took *Carmagnole* the chief Town, in the Month of *September*, wherein he found four hundred Cannon, Bullets and Gun-Powder in proportion; then he wrote to the Duke of *Guise*, offering his Assistance for helping him to execute his Designs, provided he would yield unto him the Provinces of *Dauphiné*, *Provence*, and the Marquisate of *Saluces*. But the Duke unwilling to share with any

any one, a Kingdom which he intended to keep whole for himself, declined at first the Propositions of the *Savoyard*, and without rejecting absolutely the Offer, he put off the Consideration thereof to a better Time, saying that the Harvest was not as yet full ripe. *Emmanuel* was provoked at this Answer, which he took for a flat Denial, and in order to be revenged, he informed the King, by the Marquis of *Luzinge* his Embassador at the Court of *France*, of the *Guifsans* wicked Designs against his Majesty, offering his Services and Assistance, and begging that what he had done for his own Security, should not be taken amiss. What the Consequences of that Affair were, and how it ended in the Reign of *Henry IV*, don't belong properly to this History (q).

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tus V.

By the King's feigned Reconciliation with the Duke of *Guise*, the Duke of *Espernon* had been obliged to leave the Court, and to repair to his Government of *Angoulême*, where he escaped very near the being assassinated by the seditious Leaguers; and for three or four Days he had to struggle with the greatest Difficulties, his Lady, who was fallen into the Hands of his Enemies, was in the utmost Danger of her Life, being threatned with Death if her Husband did not surrender himself; however, thro' his great Courage and Presence of Mind he got the upper hand of the Seditious, and forgiving the Commoners, he obliged the Nobility and Gentry who had been the Fire-brands of that Sedition, to leave the City. This Treatment of the Duke, together with the Edict of Union, published in *July* before, afforded the Lord *Bernard de la Villette* his Brother, Governour of

CCVII.
*Union be-
tween La
Valette
and Les
Diguieres.*

L. 1 3

Pro-

(q) *Thuan.* Lib. xcii, p. 344, — 5. *Mem. de la Ligue*,
Tom. II. p. 715, — 718.

Henry III. 1588. *Provence*, a just Pretence to conclude an Alliance offensive and defensive with the Lord of *Les Diguieres*, Chief of the Reformed in *Dauphiné*, which was not only approved by the Duke of *Espernon*, but wherein he entered himself a little after (r).

The King of *Navarre*, at whom the Duke of *Guise* aimed principally, bravely opposed the Efforts of the *League*, and endeavoured to shew his Enemies, who at the Bottom aimed more at his Person than his Religion, that he knew very well how to defend the one, by the means of the other. He re-took the Isles of *Charon* and *Marans*, which the Royalists had seized under the Command of *Lavardin*, whereby he not only confirmed his Affairs in *Xaintonge*, and *Poitou*, but sensibly obliged the *Rockellese*, who saw themselves restored, as it were, to their Liberty, by these Conquests (s).

CCVIII. The Time drawing near for the States of *Blois*, the Elections for Deputies were carrying on in the Provinces with great Heats. The King flattered himself with these Notions, that the Nobility, whose Lustre proceeded from the Crown's; the Clergy, who were beholden to him for their Benefices and Preferments; and the Officers who received their Salaries from him, would support and strengthen his Authority, and assist him in the Recovery of that Part thereof, which the *Guises* had wrested from his Hands. Therefore the Duke of *Guise* reiterated his Intrigues in the Provinces, to procure Deputies at his devotion: The Clergy exerted all their Credit over the People's Consciences; and when they had furiously

(r) *Thuan. lib.* Vide la Vie de *Le Diguieres*, Liv. ch. (s) *Thuan. lib.*

furiouſly declaimed againſt the Government, and pathetically deſcribed the great Miſeries under which the Kingdom groaned, they extolled to the Skies the tranſcendent Virtues of the Duke of *Guiſe*, who would deſtroy Tyranny and Hereſy, and reſtore Liberty and Religion to their former Splendor. True it is, that the Memoirs which *Du Pleſſis* cauſed to be diſtributed in all the Provinces, concerning the true Intereſt of the Kingdom, were efficacious enough for obliging ſome of them, to give proper Inſtructions to their Representatives for demanding that the King ſhould make Peace with the King of *Navarre*. But they were but few in Number, and their Voice was ſmothered by the Majority, all dependent on the *Guiſes*: Indeed the Buſtles for Elections, became ſo open and violent, that if any one offered to ſpeak the leaſt Word againſt them, he was deprived of his Right of Voting.

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tus V.

Soon after the News of the Deſeat and Diſperſion of the INVINCIBLE ARMADA, the King went to *Blois*; he thought that the *League* being ſtunn'd with ſuch a Blow, the States would be more tractable: with that Notion, he applied himſelf to win the Deputies to his Intereſt, as they arrived, by kind and honourable Uſage, by Promiſes, and by pathetick Arguments drawn from the Conſideration of the publick Good and Welfare of the Kingdom: But the Chief Leaguers had ſo well worked upon their Minds in the Provinces, that they were incapable of any other Impreſſion. He ſent Orders to the Chancellor of *Chiverny* to reſign his Office, and the Seals were given to *Montholon*, the Secretaries *Villeroy*, *Brulart*, *Pinar*, with *Bellievre*, were exiled from Court; *Ruzé de Beaulieu*, and *Lewis de Revol* were

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made Secretaries in their stead. Then on the 16th of *October* the States began their Sessions, which the King opened with a long, fine, gracious and very moving Speech; the main Scope whereof was to give them to understand, that he sincerely forgave all past Offences and Injuries done to his Royal Majesty, but that he expected to see the Royal Authority restored, and that the Duke of *Guise*, (*he did not name him*) should be compelled to keep in the Bounds of his Duty by the States' Authority; that he was earnestly desirous to reform the State by their Advice, and required their Assistance for that purpose. *Renaud de Beaune*, Archbishop of *Bourges*, was Speaker for the Clergy; *Claudius of Beaufremont*, Baron of *Senescay*, for the Nobility; and *La Chapelle Marteau*, the famous *Archi-Leaguer* of *Paris*, for the Commons. The King and the States solemnly swore to cause the Edict of Union above-mentioned to be observed and executed: The Clergy proposed that the Council of *Trent* should be approv'd and received in the Kingdom, a Point they had been continually driving at for twenty five Years together, but which the Parliament had always diligently and courageously opposed; and on this Occasion, *D'Espeffes* Attorney-General, speaking for the Liberties of the *Gallican Church*, set forth, *That they were not exorbitant Privileges, but natural and common Rights, which all Churches formerly enjoyed, and which that of FRANCE had been careful to preserve, without suffering any Derogation from them. That they consisted most especially in two Points; 1st, That the Pope had no Power to ordain or judge in Matters relating to the civil Administration within the King's Dominions; that if he did, the Subjects were not bound*

to obey him, not even those of them that were in holy Orders: The 2d, That altho' the French do allow that the Pope has the supreme Authority in Ecclesiastical Affairs, yet they never allow'd his Power to be absolute, but to be confined within the Limits of the holy Canons, and the Rules prescribed by the ancient Councils received in the Kingdom. D' Espesses pushed the Clergy so home upon this Subject, that tho' they were supported by the Nobility, nevertheless the Debate was broke off by a confused Murmur, the Assembly rising suddenly without determining any thing upon it, nor was it afterwards resumed while the States continued at Blois (t).

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As to the rest of their Proceedings, it will be enough to observe, that two thirds of that Assembly being wholly devoted to the *League* and the Duke of *Guise*, they demanded of the King, That the absolute Command of the Armies should be put into the Hands of the Duke, with the Title of Constable; and that the King of *Navarre* should be declared incapable of succeeding to the Crown: Which Points they pressed upon him with the utmost Earnestness and Importunity, till the King durst hardly either excuse or delay his Consent; but he complained bitterly, *That they were compelling him to divest himself of his Authority, and to dig a Grave for himself to be buried in, whenever the Duke pleas'd.* However, the first Point was to be granted, but it was never enjoyed by him: The second was likewise granted out of Condescension, and on the 4th of *November* the States enacted the King of *Navarre's* Exclusion from the Succession to the Crown. What hurried them to do that piece

(t) Thuan. lib. xciii. pag. 361, 362.

Henry III. piece of Injustice was a Petition sent to the
 1588. King, by the King of *Navarre*, from *Rochelle*,
 Pope Six- whereby the Reformed required the Restora-
 tus V. tion of the Edict of *January 1561*; The As-
 sembly of a National Council, so many times
 desired, wherein their Divines might be heard,
 the controverted Points freely debated and
 modestly decided; The Restitution of the
 Goods and Estates forfeited since the last Edict
 of Peace; That the States of the Kingdom as-
 sembled at *Blois* should approve the said Peti-
 tion, which they had caused to be printed, or
 else they excepted against them (*). That Pe-
 tition was no sooner perused by the Depu-
 ties, especially those of the *Guisian* Faction,
 than they flew out into a violent Passion, and
 executed what is above said.

CCIX. During the Sessions of the States at *Blois*, the
A political Reformed held a political Assembly at *Rochelle*,
Assembly the King of *Navarre* being present, for consi-
of the Re dering the properest Ways and Means of diver-
formed ting or withstanding the violent Storm that
Churches was raising against them; the said Prince open-
at Ro- ed the Sessions on the 16th of *November* with
chelle. a short Speech tending to exhort them to U-
 nion and Concord, to persevere in their Loyal-
 ty to the King who was kept captive by the
 Enemies, and to consider that what he had done
 against them proceeded not from his own free
 Will, but had been extorted from him by force,
 and to make new Efforts for opposing the wick-
 ed Designs of the League, wherein he would
 be always ready to set up himself as a Pattern
 to others. It is observable that he presided not
 in

(*) *Tbuan.* lib. xciii. pag. 355. *D' Aubigné*, Tom. III.
 Liv. ii. ch. 8. But it is to be observed that *Du Plessis* had
 no Hand at all in this, and disapproved of such a Petition.
Vie de Du Plessis, Liv. i. pag. 124.

in this Assembly by any other Title or Right but that of Election: And it is no less observable that in his whole Life he was never so severely handled as he was at this Time. The Deputies of the Provinces were charged with very mortifying Instructions against that Prince, he was upbraided for his Ungratefulness to his most faithful Servants of the Reformed Religion, while he bestowed freely his Favours upon the Catholicks even upon the Leaguers, on account of some frivolous Hopes, likewise for his extravagant Expences for the Support of his Mistresses, and was obliged to bear with the Reproofs of the Ministers that were deputed to him for that purpose; nay, if *Mezeray* is to be credited, they went so far in that Assembly as to Debate whether it would not be proper to divest him of the Protectorship, and to chuse in his stead Prince *Casimir*. But I don't find any like Proposition in the Historians of those Days; true it is that *D'Aubigné* says that Complaints were made against the PROTECTORAL TYRANNY, as they stiled it, and that the Deputies applied themselves to bring that Office into the Compass of its primitive Rules. *Du Plessis* in his Memoirs, and his Biographer, speak of some Heats and Jealousies which caused at first some division in that Assembly, but they don't enter into any Particulars of that kind. *Thuanus* relates what was enacted in that Assembly, without mentioning any Debate, much less upon such a Subject. Howbeit, through the Interposition of the King of *Navarre's* Friends, these Heats being qualified, and Jealousies and Mistrusts removed, they proceeded quietly to make very good and prudent Regulations, against Swearers, Ravishers, Lecherous, Robbers, ordering that the Laws made against them should be strictly put in Execution.

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Henry III. execution. As for the poor and needy, that they
 1588. should be relieved by publick Contributions,
 Pope Six- and to admit none into publick Offices but of a
 tus V. conspicuous Capacity, Probity and Piety; they
 made likewise several other Regulations, concerning the Treasury or Exchequer, the Gifts, the Immunities, the military Discipline, the Stipend of the Army, &c. &c. Then having received the Sacrament all together with the King of *Navarre*, they ended their Sessions on the 17th of *December*, and parted seemingly reconciled one with another, tho' *D'Aubigné* observes, that that Prince remembered afterwards the Treatment he had received in that Assembly (v).

CCX. At *Blois* the Royal Majesty sunk every day
The Duke more and more, the Duke of *Guise* and his Ad-
and the herents trampled it under their Feet. The
Cardinal King was informed about this Time, by the
of Guise Republick of *Venice*, the Great Duke of *Tus-*
executed cany, and the Duke of *Mantua*, of the secret
at Blois. Agreement passed between *Sixtus V.* and the Duke, whereby that Pope promised to give his Niece to Wife to the Prince of *Joinville* the Duke's Son, and to transfer the Crown of *France* to the said Duke, the King having been first deposed as an unworthy Prince (u). Besides that, the Affronts put upon his Attorney and Sollicitor General for having opposed strenuously the Reception of the Council of *Trent*, touched him to the quick. To this was added the Duke of *Guise's* great Impudence in the Affair of *Orleans*, the King denying that he had ever granted the Leaguers such a Place as a cautionary Town, and *Guise* affirming the contrary,

he
 (v) Thuan. Ibid. D'Aubigné Ibid. Mezeray Abregé Chron. Part. III. Tom. V. pag. 327. Vie de Du Pleins Ibid. ses Memoires Tom. I.

(u) Thuanus Lib. xciv. pag. 399.

he carried his Sauciness so far as to tell his Majesty in a Passion, SIR, YOU DID, AND WE SHALL HAVE IT EVEN AGAINST YOUR WILL. But what determined the King to hurry the Ruin of that proud Man, were the repeated Advices sent to him by the Duke of *Mayenne* himself Brother to the Duke of *Guise*, confirmed by the Dutchess of *Elbeuf* his near Relation, and by the Marshal of *Aumont*, by *Rambouillet* and several others, who advised the King to be upon his guard, and to prevent his Enemy, or else he would be prevented by him. The Carriage of the Dowager of *Montpensier* Sister to the said Duke was likewise a strong Indication of the great Mischiefe that was hanging over the King's Head; she shewed her golden Scissars, and bragged in full Court, *That they would serve to give the King a third Crown*, meaning a Priest's Crown. Therefore his Majesty surrounded with Fears and overwhelmed with Sorrows, call'd apart the Marshal of *Aumont*, *Nicholas d'Angennes* Lord of *Rambouillet*, *Anthony de Brichanteau* and *Beauvais Nangis*, four of his most faithful and trusty Servants, and having commanded them to sit down by him, he unbosomed himself to them, and in a very moving Speech he set forth the black Ungratefulness of the Duke of *Guise* who was beholden for all his Grandeur to the Kings his Father and Brothers and to himself, and who requited him so unworthily by corrupting the Cities and inticing away his Subjects from their lawful Submission and Obedience to their own Sovereign, by plotting and attempting to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom as to the Right of Succession to the Crown, by endeavouring by all wicked means to deprive the lawful Heirs,

for

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Henry III. for getting himself into their Succession, and
 1588. keeping for that end treasonable Correspondences
 Pope Six- with the most embittered Enemies of the
 tus V. State, the King of *Spain*, the Duke of *Savoy*,
 &c. That his Designs against his own Person
 were too obvious and too well known even by
 themselves; he accused his Patience and too
 long Forbearance, whereby he had brought upon
 the Kingdom and himself the Misfortunes and
 Miseries whereunder they did then groan, &c.
 Lastly, he commanded them to advise him freely
 what he was to do to avert the Danger where-
 with the Kingdom and he were threatened, and
 asked them whether the best Way at present
 would not be to have the Duke of *Guise* and
 his Family arrested and brought to their
 Trial? Marshal *d'Aumont* joined with the King
 in the same Opinion. It was the most honour-
 able, but not the safest Way, very far from it;
 for who would have taken upon himself to ar-
 rest the said Duke in a City where he was the
 most powerful, being usually attended with a
 numerous Guard? and suppose he could have
 been arrested, who would have tryed him? not
 the States to be sure, more than the two thirds
 thereof being in his Interest. The Parliament of
Paris were his natural Judges; but how could
 he have been carried thither without being
 rescued upon the Road? How could the Par-
 liament pronounce, how plain and strong soever
 the Evidences were against him, they being be-
 sieged, as one may say, by that Multitude of
 factious Leaguers. These Difficulties were not
 to be easily overcome. Therefore *Rambouillet*,
Brichanteau, and *Beauvais Nangis*, considering
 that his high Crimes and Misdemeanours were
 but too certain, advised his Majesty to have
 him executed in a private manner, and to ar-
 rest

rest the Cardinals of *Bourbon* and *Guise*, the Archbishop of *Lyons*, the Prince of *Joinville* Son to the Duke, the Duke of *Nemours*, and several others. That Opinion prevailed, and accordingly Orders were given to *Larchant*, one of the Captains of his Guards, to get every thing ready for that Execution the Morning of the Day after the next which was the 23d of *December*. The King feigning to have a mind to dispatch the Business that he might attend his Devotions during Christmas Holidays, desired the Duke of *Guise*, the Cardinal and others of his Privy Council to come very early that Morning. I shall not enter into any Particulars of this bloody Tragedy, any further than to observe that the Duke being inebriated with the high Conceit of his great Power, scorned the wholesome Advices he received to beware of the King, that a Plot was laid against his Life, and would be executed upon such a Day and in such a manner; he went to Council at the appointed time, and as he was entering the Chamber he was assaulted by nine of the 45 worthiest whom the King kept constantly in his Pay, and to whom only he trusted the guard of his own Person Night and Day; he received 15 or 16 Stabs, and falling upon the Floor, he died instantly. The Cardinal his Brother hearing the Noise from the Council-Chamber, and guessing what it was, got up suddenly in order to run away thro' another Door; the Archbishop of *Lyons*, conscious of the Fault he had done in opposing those who advised the Duke to leave the Court, went to the Door of the King's Chamber, as if he had a mind to assist the Duke or to die with him. But he and the Cardinal were prevented by the Guards that came at that time into the Council-Chamber,

and

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Henry III. and arrested them. The Marshal of *Aumont*, pri-
 1588. vy to the Affair, comforted them the best he
 Pope Six- could, and exhorted them to Patience, then
 tus V. they were both brought up into a Garret of the
 Castle, where they remained that Day and the
 next Night. Then the King having admitted
 the Lords of the Council to his Presence, he
 told them, directing his Speech to the Cardinal
 of *Vendome*, NOW I AM KING, and am resolv-
 ed to carry on the War against the Hereticks
 more vigorously than ever, which was retarded by
 those turbulent Men, who had always the sacred
 Name of Religion upon their Tongues, but had no
 Sense thereof in their Hearts. Let those who
 shall continue to molest me, learn by this Example
 that the same Fate will attend them, if they don't
 desist. Then he went to the Queen Mother's
 Apartment, and told her what he had done ;
 she was much surpris'd at it, however as she
 knew perfectly well how to dissemble, she ap-
 proved the thing, but ask'd her Son, whether
 he foresaw the Consequences thereof, and was pro-
 vided against all Events ? he having answered
 affirmatively, she told him, that she prayed to
 God, that he would make him prosper in his Un-
 dertakings. At the same time, the Dukes of
Nemours and *Elbauf* were arrested in their own
 Chambers, the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the
 Prince of *Joinville* had Guards set upon them,
Anne of *Est* Mother to the Dukes of *Guise* and
Nemours was likewise arrested. Then *Richelieu*,
 Provost of the King's Household, went with
 his Company of Guards, and arrested the Pre-
 sident *de Neuilly*, *Compan*, *Cotte-Blanche*, *La*
Chapelle Marteau, four Representatives of the
 City of *Paris*, and very hot Leaguers, with
Vincent Le Roy, Mayor of *Amiens*. *Laval de*
Bois-Dauphin, the Count of *Brissac*, were like-
 wise

wife arrested in their own Houses, but the first was released upon Promise that he would never attempt any thing against the King, and the Duke of *Monbazon* and *Larchant* entering caution for him; the Bishops of *Cominges*, *Bologna*, and another escaped Prison by their Flight; several others who felt their Consciences guilty, did the same. In the mean while the King sent Secretary *Revol* to Cardinal *Morosini* the Pope's Legate, to notify unto him the Duke of *Guise's* Execution, the Reasons that had induced him to it, and to let him know that he was firmly resolved to carry on the War vigorously against the King of *Navarre*; wherewith the Legate seemed to be satisfied. *Ornano* was sent post to *Lyons* to arrest the Duke of *Mayenne*, but was prevented by the Courier which *Mendoza* the Spanish Ambassador had sent to that Prince to inform him of the Danger he was in; so that he had just time enough for going out of the City through one Gate, while *Ornano* entered it through another. The next day the King having consented to the Cardinal of *Guise's* Death, *Le Guast* Captain of his Guards went to him with four of his Soldiers armed with Halberds, and having told his Eminence that his Majesty wanted to speak with him, he led him thro' some dark places, desiring him to recommend himself to God, and having bid his Men to do their Duty, they killed him with their Halberds. The Rumour of that Execution being spread abroad, every one stood in amaze; those who had been almost unconcerned at the Duke's Execution, censured that of the Cardinal because of his Character. *Morosini* let the King know, that he was fallen under the greater Excommunication, for the Murder of a Priest and a Cardinal. However, to hinder the People

Henry III.
1588.
Pope Sixtus V.

Henry III. 1588.
 Pope Sixtus V. from falling into the grossest Superstition towards the Corps of the deceased, it was thought proper to destroy them entirely; for that end the King's Servants sent for a sufficient quantity of Lime, and in the Night-time they let them down from the Window with a Rope; they were intirely consumed in it, and their Ashes cast in the Wind.

Character of the two Brothers. Such was the untimely and unexpected End of these two mighty ambitious Men, born for the Ruin and Subversion of the Kingdom. The Duke had all the Qualifications of Body and Soul requisite to make a perfect Usurper. His Body was inured from his Youth to Fatigue and Hardships, and could easily bear with Cold, Heat, Thirst and Hunger; he was tall, strong and well shaped, he carried a majestick Mien and a graceful Countenance; he slept little, was very diligent, chearful and merry, and was so ready in dispatching Business, that he made but a play of the most serious and weighty; he was civil and courteous to every one, and very engaging, more eloquent in private than in publick; he had made his first Exercises in the War in Hungary, and had afterwards made himself famous by the Defence of *Poitiers*, the Rout of *Thoré* near *Chateau-Thierry*, in which Places he distinguished himself and received most honourable Wounds; then he routed the German Army commanded by Baron of *Dhona*, at *St. Vincent*, *Vimory* and *Auneau*. All these Exploits, wherein he had given proof of a Prudence equal to his Courage and Intrepidity, procured him the Favour of all, and even those who did not approve his vast and ambitious Designs, and did not love him for that, could not refuse him their Admiration. We have represented the Duke of *Guise* to the best Advantage: But these
 good

good Qualifications were filled by Vices of the blackest Dye. His Ambition was extravagant and boundless, his Brain was perpetually agitated with a thousand vast and confused Imaginations, and grew giddy with too much Prosperity; he was of a crafty Genius that turneth easily, and while he fed his Eyes with distant Objects, he slighted the present. A great Master in the wicked Art of dissembling and cheating, he was not ashamed of making free with Lyes to compass his Ends; they were so customary with him, that he could hardly speak without lying, which being known only by his intimate Friends, rendered him by degrees odious to them, and several forsook him for it. He was a thorough Hypocrite as to Religion, for while he insisted so warmly upon the utter Destruction of the Reformed, he was no less eager in pursuing an Alliance with them, for obtaining which, he wrote with his own Hand these very Words to some of the topping Men amongst them, IF A MINISTER IS NOT ENOUGH FOR YOU, YOU WILL GET TWO IF YOU AGREE WITH ME. And we have seen what Steps the Duke of *Mayenne* took with the King of *Navarre*, what Offers he tendered to him in 1585 with his Brother's Consent; so that Religion was but a Mask whereunder he hid the wicked Designs of his Ambition, and by that feigned Zeal for the publick Good and the Glory of the Catholick Church he fought only to dazle the People's Eyes, and advance his own Interest. There was a vast difference between him and the Duke of *Mayenne* his Brother. *Guise* was bold in his Designs, *Mayenne* prudent and moderate; in the Household of the first every thing was in Confusion and Disorder, in *Mayenne's* all was

Henry III.
1588.
Pope Six-
tus V.

Henry III. set in good order: The first did not care how
 1588. far he ran in debt, provided he could find at
 Pope Six- any Rate what to expend, the second regulated
 tus V. his Expence in such a manner that he owed no-
 thing; the first made very large Promises
 which he seldom kept, the second promised sel-
 dom, but was always faithful; the first set
 no bounds to his Ambition, exceedingly greedy
 after new Dignities, new Preferments, and ne-
 ver satisfied with any thing, he thought him-
 self above Laws, and whatever came in his
 Fancy, he would have it right or wrong; the
 second was modest, and it was plain enough
 that he liked better a middle Fortune with the
 Peace of the Kingdom, than an unbridled Au-
 thority with a Civil War. *Pericart*, *Guise's* Se-
 cretary, having been arrested and his Papers
 seized, there was found amongst them his
 Treaty with the King of *Spain*, and another
 with the Duke of *Savoy*. The Account of the
 Money he had received of the King of *Spain* at
 different times from the latter end of 1584,
 having been cast up, the Sum amounted to one
 million five hundred thousand Crowns. As to
 the Cardinal of *Guise*, he was a very profligate
 Fellow, given up to all manner of Debauchery,
 especially to Lewdness, which hindered his
 Brother from trusting him with his secret
 Thoughts and Designs; he was proud and vio-
 lent, which occasioned his Death. Such were
 these two Men, the People's Idols while alive
 and after their Death: the Duke was 38 Years
 old, wanting eight Days, and the Cardinal 35
 or thereabout. (x).

Had

(x) Thuan. Lib. xcii, xciii, xciv. It is he who charges
 the Duke of *Guise* with being a downright Lyar. Me-
 moires de Du Plessis Mornay. Tom. I.

Had the King after that Execution sent in Henry III. 1589. Pope Sixtus V. all haste for his Army under the Command of the Duke of *Nevers*, which was in *Poitou*, and marched with it directly to *Paris*, while that City was under the utmost Consternation for the Death of its Darlings, very likely that Step Consequences of that Execution. would have turned to his Advantage; but his natural Slowness did not allow him to pursue vigorously what he had begun, he returned to his former way of managing Affairs, and giving way to his Superstition, he followed the most imprudent Counsel of the Marshal of *Retz*; he sent no Succour to the Marshal of *Aumont* besieged in the Castle of *Orleans* by the Inhabitants of that City, because he would have offended the good Catholicks, had he recalled his Army out of *Poitou* destined against the *Hugonots*: for the same reason he would not consent for this time, that *Sancy* should go into *Switzerland* and desire the Assistance of the Protestant Cantons, he liked better to do the Sergeant's Office and to lead himself the Prisoners of *Blois* to the Castle of *Amboise*.

Therefore the *Parisians*, being informed of the King's Indolence, ran into all the Excesses of the most outrageous Rebellion. The *Sixteen* had elected the Duke of *Aumale* for their Governour as soon as they had heard of the Execution made at *Blois*, and gave the Cue to all the Preachers, to cry up the Merits of the two Brothers, and to magnify the Perfidiousness and Cruelty of the King; which Orders they shamefully executed, with all the Passion and Rage that can be imagined. It would be too offensive to the chaste Eyes of my Reader to see here the many Instances of the extravagant and even blasphemous Rants uttered from the Pulpit on this occasion by one *Guincestre*, one

Henry III. *Boucher*, and many others recorded by Name in the *Journal of the Reign of Henry III.* and in the *Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France*, and in the *Catholicon d'Espagne*, and some others. I shall only take notice of the Sentiments and Proceedings of the most able and eminent amongst the Catholick Divines in *France*. The Decisions of the *Sorbonne* might serve for all. The SIXTEEN had presented a Petition in the Name of the City to the Duke of *Aumale* by the Provost of the Merchants, and the *Eschevins*, or Sheriffs, to be presented by him to the *Sorbonists*, desiring to be resolved upon these two Points:

1°. Whether the People of *France* were freed from their Oath of Allegiance sworn to *Henry III.*?

2°. Whether the same People might with a safe Conscience arm, unite, collect Money, and allest themselves for the Defence and Conservation of the Catholick, Apostolick, Roman Religion in the Kingdom, against the nefarious Counsels and Attempts of the said King and all his Adherents, &c?

Upon which Articles, the mature, accurate and free Deliberations of all and singular the Masters, in Number seventy, being heard, &c. it was concluded by the Dean of the Faculty, *nemine contradicente*; and this by way of Advice for easing the Consciences of the foresaid People:

1°. That the People of this Kingdom were released and freed from their Oath of Allegiance sworn to the said King *Henry*.

2°. That the same People might lawfully, and with a safe Conscience, arm, unite, collect Money, and contribute towards the Defence and Conservation of the Catholick Apostolick

stolick and Reformed Religion against the ne-
farious Counsels and Attempts of the said King
and all his Adherents whatsoever, because of
his violating the publick Faith, in prejudice of
the said Catholick Religion, the Edict of the
holy Union, and the natural Liberty of the
Assembly of the three States of the Kingdom,
&c.

Henry III.
1588.
Pope Six-
tus V.

The People's Minds being loos'd from all
Restraints of Conscience and Allegiance by
such a Decision, 'tis no wonder they ran into
all manner of Excesses against their Sovereign,
especially after the Parliament was new model-
led by the SIXTEEN. That august Body, *I*
mean the Parliament of Paris, which without
any other Force than that of Justice, and Pru-
dence, was never wanting to uphold the Royal
Authority, had often saved the State when all
other Means had failed, and was always dread-
ed by ill-designing and seditious Men, as a
Power that could not easily be terrified or cor-
rupted, but was used to exert the utmost Vi-
gilance and Virtue in times of the greatest Peril.
The SIXTEEN therefore having in vain tryed
all sorts of Methods to bring them over to their
Interest, resolv'd to seize and imprison the
principal Persons amongst them, whose Names
they set down in a List. *Bussy Le Clerc* offer'd
himself to perform this Exploit. He entered
the Palace, where the Parliament was assembled,
with Sword in hand, attended by twenty other
Fellows like him armed with Swords and
Pistols, and called by their Names those who
were set down in the List one after another, be-
ginning with the first and second President; and
because they asked him what Authority he had
for so doing, he threatned them to use Force if
they did not obey, so then they submitted to

Henry III. their Fate. But when he had called out some
 1589. of them, the rest of the Parliament rose up and
 Pope Six- told him, he need not read on, for they were all
 tus V. resolv'd not to abandon their Chiefs. So say-
 ing, they follow'd them courageously, by two
 and two to the Bastile, where *Bussy* detain'd as
 many of them as he pleas'd. The same Day
Bussy took some others in their Houses, who
 had absented from the Palace, and imprisoned
 them; but most of them were released that
 Afternoon, or within a Day or two after;
 getting off by their Money and Jewels, or
 by making Friends, and promising to quit the
 King's Party. Those who had more Con-
 stancy remain'd Prisoners. Some of those that
 were set at liberty sided in earnest with the
League; others serving the Times, dissembled
 their real Sentiments.

The Parliament being thus dismembered of
 its noblest Limbs, that illustrious Senate, or
 rather its Shadow, remain'd intirely at the Dis-
 posal of the Factious, and a Council of forty
 Persons having been erected by the Duke of
Aumale, under the Title of the three States of
 the Kingdom, which three States consisted of
 no other than the sixteen, and Men like them,
 with Deputies from two or three of the re-
 volted Towns, they made use of *Catharine* of
Cleves, the Duke of *Guise's* Widow, to bring
 upon the Stage a very strange Scene. She went
 in deep Mourning, attended by several Ladies
 her Friends, and others of her Household, who
 like her compos'd their Dress and Counte-
 nance to move Pity, and presented a Petition
 to the Parliament, demanding Justice on those
 who had caused and procured her Husband
 and Brother-in-Law to be assassinated at *Blois*;
 The Forty joined themselves with her in that
 Suit.

Suit. The Parliament received her Petition Henry III.
 very favourably, the Process was began and 1589.
 carried on in Form by the Attorney-General, Pope Six-
 but how far they proceeded, nobody knows tus. V.
 with any Certainty, because the Leaves were
 torn out of the Registers of the Parliament;
 when *Henry IV.* first entered *Paris* in 1594 (y).

If

(y) It is said that the Duchess's demands were, That
 the said *Henry of Valois* should be condemned for the Mur-
 der of the Duke and Cardinal of *Guise*, to do Amende
 Honorable in his Shirt, bare-headed and bare-footed, a
 Rope round his Neck, a lighted Taper of thirty pounds
 weight in his Hands, and the Hang-man behind him;
 that he should kneel before the States assembled, and de-
 clare that wrongly and without Cause he had murdered
 or caused to be murdered the said Duke and Cardinal, for
 which he sued for Pardon of God, Justice, and the States;
 that from that Moment, he should be deposed and declared
 unworthy of the Crown of *France*, as convicted of such
 high Crimes, renouncing all manner of Right and Pre-
 tension to the said Crown: Besides that he should be exiled,
 and perpetually shut up in the Monastery of the *Hierony-*
mites near the Castle of *Vincennes*, there to do Penance,
 and to feed only upon bread and water all the days of his
 Life, &c. See *Bayle's* Diction. Article *GUISE*, Rem. I.
 'Tho' the Author says that he had this Account from Dr.
Bourdelot, Physician to the Duchess of *Burgundy*, I don't
 take it to be less spurious: For the States of *Blois* being
 stiled the PRETENDED STATES, I dare say that the said
 Pamphlet was not the work of a Catholick, who had
 quite contrary notions of that Assembly. Besides, that
 how ignominious soever was the penalty to be inflicted
 upon the King, nay, worse than Death, for a person of
 that high Station, is it likely that the Plaintiff would chuse
 that rather than the Defendant's Death? Were they so far
 blinded with eagerness after Revenge, as not to foresee that
 there was no Security for them as long as he should be alive;
 for by some lucky turn or other, he might be restored
 to his Throne, and have it in his power to be dreadfully
 revenged? Therefore we may certainly depend upon it, that
 they sought his Life, rather than any thing else; and *Thua-*
nius, who relates the same thing, word for word, Lib. xciv.
 pag. 397. Letters E. F. Edit. 1626. speaks thereof, not
 as a Demand of the Duchess of *Cleves*, but as of a scanda-
 lous Pamphlet written by some unknown seditious hand or
 hands.

Henry III.

1589.
Pope Six-
tus V.

If the *Parisians* carried so far their Rebellion against their Sovereign, the Inhabitants of *Toulouse* went still further, at the Instigation of the Bishops of *Cominges* and *Castres*; especially the first, who had fled from *Blois*, as soon as they heard that the Duke of *Guise* was dead. *Stephen Duranti*, first President of that Parliament, tho' a zealous Catholick and a Man, who for ingratiating himself with the People had countenanced them in all their violent and unwarrantable Proceedings against the Reformed, and *James Daffis* Attorney-General, kept that City for a Month together in the King's Obedience: But at last the Bishop of *Cominges*, a Man ambitious and violent, stirred up the People against these two Magistrates, and inflamed them with such a Fury, that as *Duranti* came out from the Palace, where he had strenuously asserted the Reverence, Fidelity and Obedience due to the King, against those who were for following the Example of *Paris*, he was assaulted by the Populace and escaped very narrowly; he fled for Refuge to the Town-House (*Capitoul's-House*) expecting to be relieved by his Friends and good Citizens, but out of Fear, nobody came; and having staid there four Days, he was taken out from that Place, and brought Prisoner to the *Dominicans-Convent*, the Bishops of *Cominges* and *Chartres* attending him; where he was so closely kept, that his only beloved Daughter was not allowed to see him. A few Days after, the Populace ran to the Convent,

and

hands. The Author of the Collection of the memorable Events happened in *France*, &c. says, pag. 686. 3d Edit. 1603. that the King was tried, condemned to be hang'd and executed in effigy, and that the said Effigy was burnt after having been hanging a while. But that Author's authority is supported by none other.

and the Guards refusing to open the Gates, Henry III. they set them on fire; then one of his Guards ^{1589.} went to him, and told him that the People ^{Pope Six-} waited for him at the Gate; he guessed right ^{tus V.} what was the Matter, so he took his last farewell of his Wife, who had been allowed to be shut up Prisoner with him, and went to the Gate; where one of the wickedest of his Guards, took him by the Arm and delivered him to that furious Populace, saying, *HERE IS THE MAN!* He with an undaunted Countenance, asked them, *What harm then have I done, that deserves such a severe Treatment?* The Multitude stood stupefied at the sight of a Man, whom they had so much revered before; but one of them breaking through the Croud, fired his Musket at him and killed him upon the Spot. Then the most furious amongst them, not satisfied with his Death, stabbed him in several Places, and dragged his Corpse to the Place where they were used to execute the Malefactors, and hang'd him with one of the King's Pictures behind him, adding these Words, *The King was so dear to thee in thy Life-time; now thou art at liberty to enjoy him, and lay with him.* They murdered one of his Servants who was sick a-bed with the Wounds he had received in the Defence of his Master. As to Attorney-General *Daffis*, they took him out of Prison, and killed him most cruelly with their Darts. Not satisfied with this, they went to the Town-House, and having taken down the King's Picture, they dragged it thro' the Streets, and at last feigned to sell it by Port-Sale, one of them crying, *That the Executioner bid five Pence for it, to buy a Rope for hanging the Original (z).*

Henry III. But we must return to Court, where we
 1589. left the King very busy in transferring his
 Pope Six- Prisoners from *Blois* to *Amboise*. The Duke
 tus V. of *Nemours* found Means to make his Escape
 out of Prison, disguised under a Scullion-Dress;
 a few Days after, his Majesty set the old
 Dukes of *Nemours* at liberty, in hopes that
 she would procure some Agreement with the
 Duke of *Mayenne*. The Representatives for
 the City of *Paris*, and that for *Amiens* were
 likewise released, upon Promise of some good
 Services. The Archbishop of *Lyons* remained
 inflexible, refusing absolutely to answer before
 the Commissaries the King had named to ex-
 amine him, on account of his Dignity; and at
 last he redeemed his Liberty for a Sum of
 Money he gave to his Keeper, who received
 it with the King's Consent. *Pericart*, Secre-
 tary to the late Duke of *Guise*, saved his Life
 and redeemed his Liberty, by revealing all the
 Secrets of his Master.

CCXI. But one of the most considerable Events of
 The Queen- the Beginning of this Year, was the Queen-
 Mother's Mother's-Death. That Princess was afflicted
 with a Dropsy some time before, and was so
 moved when she heard of the two Brothers
 Death, and of the great Revolution which had
 happened at Court, that it was thought, Grief
 hastened her Death; she died on the 5th of
January, in the 70th Year of her Age, being
 born the 13th of *April* 1519.

Some Ad- I have but little to add to what I have said
 dition to of her in the first Vol. of this Hist. Book II.
 her Cha- Page 164—168. I shall observe only, that her
 racter. unquenchable Thirst after Dominion put her up-
 on all manner of Shifts to gratify it; she did not
 scruple to create and foment perpetual Divisi-
 ons between her Sons; nay soon after the King's
 Mar-

Marriage, she was not ashamed to make use of the wickedest Means for alienating his Affections from the Queen his Consort, charging her with Infidelity to him, because that unfortunate but innocent Princess hearkened to the Counsels and Directions of the Duke of Guise her Cousin; and was not, as she thought, complaisant enough to her. She prevailed so far with the King, that for two Years together he treated her with the greatest Rigour, removing from her, her most trusty and faithful Servants, and behaving himself in all other respects towards her, just as if she had been guilty of the Crimes laid to her charge. In a word, she must reign and govern, and cared not what fatal Consequences her unbridled Ambition might be attended with. Her Profuseness was such, that her Debts amounted to eight hundred thousand Crowns, for discharging of which, her household Furniture, which was exceedingly rich, and part of her personal Estate in *Auvergne* and *Languedoc* were sold by Port-Sale. Several Pasquils and other Verses were published against her Fame. Some of the best I have inserted here :

Henry III.
1589.
Pope Six-
tus V

*La Reine, qui cy git, fut un Diable et un Ange,
Toute pleine de blame, et pleine de Loüange,
Elle soutint l' Etat, et l' Etat mit à bas,
Elle fit maints Accords, et pas moins de Debats.
Elle enfanta trois Roix, et cinq Guerres civiles,
Fit batir des Chateaux et ruïna des Villes.
Fit bien de bonnes Loix, et de mauvais Edicts,
Soubaite luy, Passant, Enfer et Paradis (a).*

She was so little regretted after her Death, that she was quite forgotten a few Days after.

The

(a) Memoires pour servir à l'Hist. de France, Tom. I. pag. 263.

Henry III. The King having received the Petitions of
 1589. the States, and sworn a-new the Edict of Uni-
 Pope Six- on, put an end to their Sessions on the 16th
 tus V. of *January*. His Majesty seemed so little con-
 CCXII. cerned at the miserable Condition he and the
 The King's Kingdom were in, that every one, Foes and
 Supineness. Friends, wondered at it. As long as he enter-
 tained some Hopes of coming to an Agree-
 ment with the Duke of *Mayenne*, he took but
 little Pains to put himself in a Condition
 of withstanding the Forces of the League,
 and every Day brought in News of the Defec-
 tion of some of his best Cities; especially after
 the taking the Castle of *Orleans*, which the
 Marshal of *Aumont* could not keep any longer,
 for want of Relief. The Duke of *Nevers*, who
 commanded the Army of *Poitou*, could not
 execute the Orders he received from Court, for
 these two Reasons. First, Because the Catho-
 licks would have taken great Offence at his
 Conduct, had he employed his Army raised
 against the Reformed, to oppose the Catho-
 licks. Secondly, Because the said Army was
 for the most part composed of hot Leaguers,
 who for certain would have refused to obey
 their General's Orders, had he given them any
 contrary to the Interest of their Party.

*Hearwakes
 and minds
 his Inte-
 rest.*

But his Majesty finding that the Duke of
Mayenne was not to be bought at any Rate, and
 that the Pope was inflexible, and refused obsti-
 nately to absolve him, unless he would put in-
 to his hand the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the
 Archbishop of *Lyons*, he saw himself under a
 mere Necessity of hearkening to *Sancy's* Counsels
 and Offers, and of dispatching him into *Swit-
 zerland*, for treating with the Protestant Can-
 tons; nay, he thought it to be his true Inte-
 rest to hearken to the King of *Navarre's* Pro-
 positions,

positions, and to come to an Agreement with Henry III. 1589.

him. Pope Sixtus V.

Indeed it was high time for his Most Christian Majesty to provide for himself; for on one Side, the Duke of *Mayenne* had got the Advantage over him. That Prince being timely His present Circumstances. escaped from *Lyons*, went into his Government of *Burgundy*, for securing that Province to his Interest. There he received the King's Letters, containing an Apology for what had been done at *Blois*, and a serious Exhortation to persevere in his Loyalty, accompanied with most ample Offers and Promises, if he would exert his Credit for restoring the King's Authority, and the Peace of the Kingdom. *Mayenne* was wavering and irresolute for a Time, but the Dukes of *Montpensier*, who could not agree with the Duke of *Aumale*, being arrived in *Burgundy*, prevailed so far with him, that he totally rejected all Overtures of a Reconciliation with the King. He set out for *Paris*, went to *Sens*, where his Presence was required for strengthening his Friends; from thence to *Orleans*, thence to *Chartres*, where he was received with the loudest Acclamations, and proceeded to *Paris*, where he arrived on the 10th of *February*. He was received with all possible Marks of Honour and Joy, and offered the Title of King, and a Throne was actually prepared for him: But he thought it to be his Interest to refuse it, for he was very sensible that the other Chiefs of the League, who were willing to be his Friends and Companions, would not easily consent to become his Subjects; therefore he contented himself to assume the Title and Quality of LIEUTENANT-GENERAL OF THE STATE AND CROWN OF FRANCE. A new Seal was made by the Council's Orders, on

one

Henry III.
1589.
Pope Six-
tus V.

one Side were engraved the Flowers-de-Luce, as usual, but on the other an empty Throne with these Words round about, *The Seal of the Kingdom of FRANCE*; such was the Duke of *Mayenne's* prosperous Condition.

On the other side, the King of *Navarre* and the Reformed's Affairs had never been in a better Posture; that Prince was upon making an Agreement with the Duke of *Espernon*, not only for the mutual Support one of another, but also for joining their Endeavours together for the Defence of the Royal Authority, when he received the News of the Duke of *Guise's* Death; whereupon he said to those who were then with him, "I should lye if I did say that I am sorry for it, considering that he was a Disturber of the publick Peace, a Traitor to his King". As for the rest, he might affirm positively that several Noblemen had offered themselves to murder the said Duke, but that he had always deterred them from such a Design, threatening them to deem them wicked, and Foes to himself if they did persist. So he had the good Luck to be freed of a mortal Enemy and dangerous Competitor, without being in any wise privy to it. He and his Council judged rightly that his Most Christian Majesty would continue the War against them, if it was but out of Policy, that the League should not have Occasion to say that the Duke of *Guise* had forced him to be a Catholick outwardly, but that inwardly he was an Heretick, countenancing under-hand their Party: however, it was not so, long, as *Du Pleffis* imagined before he concluded a Treaty with the King of *Navarre*, as we shall say presently.

The said King of *Navarre* took at this time *Niort* by Surprize; that Advantage was followed by

by the Surrender of *St. Maixant* and *Maille-* Henry III.
zais. At this time the Duke of *Nevers* be- 1589.
 sieged *La Ganache*; the King of *Navarre* Pope Six-
 marched to the Relief of that Place, but he tus V.
 was seized upon the Road with a pleurentick
 Fever, and the Succours not being able to ar-
 rive time enough, the Governor was forced to
 surrender upon honourable Terms. Most part
 of the Duke's Army disbanded themselves,
 and joined the Duke of *Mayenne*. The King
 of *Navarre's* Sicknefs caused a general Conster-
 nation not only in his Army, but in the whole
 Party, to whom his Death would have proved
 a fatal Blow; God Almighty pitied their Fate,
 and restored that Prince to the Prayers, not
 only of the Reformed, but of every true *French-*
man: in a few Days he was in a Condition to
 be carried to *Rockelle*, and took the Field
 again in the beginning of *February*. He had
 an Enterprize upon *Saumur*, which miscarried
 for want of proper Secrecy, and of proper
 Measures, he succeeded better at *Loudun*,
 which he took, *Thouars*, *Monstreuil*, *Bellay*,
L'Isle Bouchart, *Chatelleraud*, *La Rochepozay*,
Angle, *St. Savin* and several others opened their
 Gates to him; every where he left Marks of
 his Clemency, not permitting his Troops to
 do any Outrage to the Vanquished, either in
 their Persons or in their Goods, and allowing
 the Catholicks the free and publick Exercise of
 their Religion. He march'd into *Berry*, and
 took *Argenton*; then, leaving his Infantry and
 Artillery behind him, he proceeded so far as
La Haye in *Touraine*. There the Baron of
Rosny arrived the same Day, who told his Ma-
 jesty that Mr. *de Buby*, Brother to *Du Plessis*,
 would be with him the next Day. He was
 Major-General in King *Henry* the III^d's Ser-

Henry III. vice, and his Majesty sent him that he might, under Pretence of paying a Visit to his Brother, confer with the King of *Navarre* about a Treaty, the Overtures whereof had been made by *Rosny*.

*He treats
with the
King of
Navarre.*

In order to understand this, one must remember what we have said above concerning the Hard-heartedness of the *Pope*, the Duke of *Mayenne's* Obstinacy, and the Progresses of the *League*; the King being not very safe at *Blois*, resolved to go to *Tours*, where his Presence was requisite for the Support of his Interest in that City. Before he left the former he had been obliged to pay thirty thousand Crowns to *Le Guast*, whom he had intrusted with the Guard of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Prince of *Joinville*, the Duke of *Elbæuf*, the Archbishop of *Lyons* and other Prisoners in the Castle of *Amboise*, for getting out of his Hands the three first, because that perfidious Man was treating for their Liberty. He had likewise published an Amnesty for all those, of what Rank and Quality soever, who forsaking all other Association, should return to their Allegiance; declaring Rebels and Traitors to the King and their Country, all those who should refuse to obey before the 1st of *March*: The Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Aumale*, and the Chevalier of *Aumale*, were particularly taken Notice of in the said Amnesty. He published likewise an Edict, whereby he transferred his Parliament of *Paris* and Chamber of Accounts to *Tours*, commanding all Presidents, Counsellors and other Magistrates that were at Liberty, to repair to that City for administering Justice, and performing the Duties of their Charge. He desired likewise Cardinal *Morosini* the *Pope's* Legate to write to the Duke of *Mayenne*,

Mayenne, and endeavour to bring him to some Agreement with him. The Cardinal complied with that Request, and sent one of his Secretaries to the said Duke, but all his Trouble and Intreaties were to no purpose. In the mean while the Count of *Soissons*, *Rambouillet d'Angennes* and others, faithful Servants to the King, left no Stone unturned to persuade his Majesty to make a Truce with the King of *Navarre*, and to join their Forces together against their common Enemies; but the King's Hatred against the Reformed was such, that he could not bear with the thought of that Union: Nevertheless when he saw himself debarred from all Hopes of being ever reconciled with the *League*, seeing himself not able to withstand their Forces, he consented, tho' with the greatest Reluctancy, to a Treaty.

At that Time the Baron of *Rosny*, passed through *Blois* in his Way to the King of *Navarre*; tho' he travelled *incognito*, nevertheless he was known in the Streets by *Rambouillet*, who followed him to his Lodging, and after some Conference together, he introduced him to the King, having first informed him of his Coming and of what had passed between them in their Conference. His Majesty opened his Mind to him, and told him that he desired earnestly to be reconciled with the King of *Navarre*, and to trust in him for the future; then he let him proceed to the King of *Navarre*, with Orders to let him know his good Intentions for him.

Such was the Court's Situation, when the King having put a strong Garrison in *Blois* set out for *Tours*, bringing the three State-Prisoners along with him, he sent the Cardinal of *Bourbon* under a strong Guard to *Chinon* under the Care of

Henry III. *Chavigny* Commandant of the Castle, the Duke of *Elbæuf* was sent to the Castle of *Loches* under the Care of *Sallerm* Governor thereof, and the Prince of *Joinville* was kept in the Castle of *Tours* under the Care of *Rouvray*.

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Pope Six-
tus V.

The King of *Navarre* having heard what *Rosny* had to say to him in his Most Christian Majesty's Name, sent him back to him, with his Letters and Instructions; he met the King at *Mont-Richard* in his Way to *Tours*, and having conferred with his Majesty in the Night, and received his Answer; he was dispatch'd back to the King of *Navarre* that very Night, and told him that *De Buky* was to arrive the next Day for conferring upon the same Business, and *Rosny* falling sick of a Fever, that lasted twelve Days, *Du Plessis* was charged with that Commission (b).

The Kings of *France* and *Navarre* were both besieged by their Courtiers, who started every Moment some new Difficulties in the way, and filled up the Minds of their Masters with Mistrusts, Fears, and Jealousies one against another: But all these Obstructions being happily removed, thro' the Industry, and great Capacity of the Managers, at last the Treaty

was

(b) *Memoires de Sully*, Tom. I. ch. xxvi. p. 64. But the Author thereof is so high-conceited for that Duke his Master, that he don't trouble much himself, if he don't agree with other Historians; so if we do believe him here, his Master brought this Affair so near the Conclusion, that nothing more remained but to sign, but by *Du Plessis's* Cabal he was deprived of that honour while he was sick-bed. That Author was so much prepossessed in behalf of the Duke of *Sully*, that he takes for an Injury done to him the choice the King of *Navarre* made of *Du Plessis*, for compleating the Work begun by that Duke, not considering that there was no time to lose in the present Crisis of Affairs, and that twelve Days then, were more than twelve Months at another time.

was concluded on the 3d of *April*, the chief Contents thereof, were to the following Purport.

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That there shall be a Truce for one Year between the two Kings; That the King of *Navarre* shall faithfully assist the King of *France* with all his Forces; That *Avignon* and the *Venaissine* County shall be comprised in the Treaty, (This the King of *France* required, to please the *Pope* :) That the *Bridges of Cé* upon *Loire* shall be delivered up to the King of *Navarre*, for the free Passage of his Troops: (But that Article could not be executed, because the Governour of that Place refused to surrender it, unless the King would pay him an hundred thousand Crowns; and *Ibuanus* says, that this was a Device of the King of *Navarre*, who not being well-pleased with that Place, and liking *Saumur* much better, gave that Governour, namely *Cosseins*, to understand underhand, that if he insisted with the King, he should have an hundred thousand Crowns; which succeeded to that Prince's Wishes, for he got *Saumur* instead of the *Bridges of Cé* :) That he shall surrender to the King, what Places he and his Party shall take from their common Enemy; his Most Christian Majesty promising not to put into them any Governour, but those who shall be acceptable to the King of *Navarre*. Besides, That the said Prince shall be allowed to keep one of these Places in every Bailiwick or Seneschalship, for the Retreat of his own Sick and Wounded, and as a Pledge till the Reimbursement of the Expences he shall be at, for his Majesty's Service during the War, provided the said Place should not be the Seat of a Bishoprick, Bailiwick or Seneschalship: That both Parties shall freely enjoy their

Henry III. Goods without Molestation. By the secret Articles it was stipulated, that nobody should be molested on account of his Religion in any Place in the King's Possession; That the free Exercise of the Reformed Religion should be allowed in the Places granted to the King of *Navarre* for his Passage, in his Army, and in all Places where the said Prince should sojourn, as well as in the Towns which should be allotted to him in every Bailiwick, &c.

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tus V.

The King of *France's* Reluctancy was such, that he would have this Treaty to be kept secret, as not willing to offend the Pope; but being told by the Legate, that it was in vain, he required to have a Fortnight longer, before it should be delivered to the King of *Navarre*; being always in hopes that by that Time, he might come to an Agreement with the Duke of *Mayenne*, or obtain at least a Suspension of Arms; either of which, if he obtained, he was resolved to make War upon the King of *Navarre* more vigorously than before. Several Difficulties started on purpose, about the Article concerning the Place of Passage, afforded to the King the Pretence he desired for delaying.

But at last, seeing all his Hopes frustrated, he consented in earnest to be reconciled with that Prince, and published an Edict concerning the Treaty he had concluded with him, which Edict was read and registered in the Parliament of *Tours*, on the 29th of *April*, to the great Joy of every true *Frenchman*, who were sensible that no other ways remained for restoring the Kingdom, than that Union with a Prince so much renowned for his Prudence, Valour, and Experience (c).

That

(c) Thuanus, Lib. xcvi. pag. 423, 424.

That Prince published two Writings one after another, the first from *Chatelleraud*, on the 4th of *March*, directed to the three States of the Kingdom; wherein, after having lamented the miserable Fate of the Realm, he exposed the Justice of his Cause, which forced him against his own Inclination, to take up Arms for his own, and his Party's Preservation and Liberty of their Conscience; then he intreats the King to grant Peace to his Party and the Leaguers, as the only Remedy for so many Diseases; and he exhorts those that were about the King's Person, to advise him to make Peace with him. Can a single King, says he, cope with the Forces of so many Enemies, surrounded on one side by the Reformed, on the other by the Leaguers? Therefore let him accept the Condition; let the Leaguers lay down their Arms, and consider that they have done enough for gratifying their Revenge, Hatred, Jealousies and Ambition, if any remains in them after so many Misfortunes. As for himself, he will set up for an Example to others; and deem himself very happy, and sufficiently recompensed if he can be reconciled with the King, and reconcile the Leaguers with his Majesty. That, that was the earnest Desire of himself and of his Party; the Subject of their fervent Prayers to God; and what he most humbly besought the King to grant, what he intreated, nay, what he commanded, as first Prince of the Blood, the Leaguers: If they don't comply, if the King denies his just Petition, he implores God Almighty's Assistance, and calls him and all Men to be Witnesses of the Sincerity of his Intentions, that he will take upon him the King and Kingdom's Defence against all Opposers, even to

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tus V.

CCXIV.
The King
of Na-
varre's
two Wri-
tings.

Henry III. the Peril of his own Life ; then he offers his
 1589. Protection to the Cities, Corporations, &c.
 Pope Six- that shall submit themselves to the King, and
 tus V. to himself, promising them to alter nothing
 either in their Civil Government or in their
 Religion, &c.

The second Writing was published on the 18th of *April*, whereby he declares, that he will hold for his Enemies, those Leaguers and Plotters, who having attacked the King, had abolished the King's Name, expelled the Parliaments and other Courts of Justice from their Tribunals, trod under their feet all Rights Human and Divine, had confounded the Order of all things, and filled up the Kingdom with Blood and Horror ; letting them to know that he will pursue and prosecute them with the utmost Rigour. And whereas he knew that many either thro' Imprudence or Fear had engaged themselves with the League, therefore he exhorts them to forsake, without any further Delay, those Traitors, and to yield to the King the Submission and Obedience whereto they are bound by their Allegiance ; promising his Protection to those who shall obey, and threatening with Destruction the Refractories. Then he set forth the boundless Ambition of the *Guisian* House, to which only the Miseries and Calamities wherewith the Kingdom had been afflicted for thirty Years past were to be ascribed ; whereby a total Destruction of the State must follow of course, unless those who adhere unto them should timely repent.

Six Days after being at *Saumur*, he published an Edict directed to the Reformed, and all others who were under his Protection, acquainting them with the Truce he had concluded of late with the King of *France*, and

at

at the same time accounting for the Reasons Henry III. 1589. Pope Sixtus V. that had induced him to comprise the City of *Avignon*, and the County of *Venaissine* in the said Treaty; and commanding them to forbear all Outrages to the King's faithful Subjects, and the Pope's, and all manner of Disturbance to the free Exercise of the Catholick Religion (*d*).

At last the two Kings had an Interview at *CCXV. Plessis les Tours*, to the great Joy of the two Interview of the two Kings. Courts, the faithful Inhabitants, and of all who were present, who by their repeated Acclamations expressed their high Satisfaction; and indeed that Sight could not but be very moving, especially the King of *Navarre's* great Generosity, who sacrificed to the publick Good his just Resentments for the many Injuries he had received of the King his Brother-in-Law. He fell upon his Knees as he came near his Majesty, about three Steps distance, and said; That he reckoned that Day the happiest of his Life, which procured to him the Honour of seeing the Face of his Most Gracious Lord, and of tendering himself his most humble and faithful Services; that now Death itself would not be bitter nor unpleasant to him, since being reconciled with his Majesty, he could give up the Ghost, as one may say, into his Bosom. Then the King took him up by the Hand and embraced him most tenderly; which done, the King of *Navarre* saluted the Princes and the Lords that were in the King's Attendance; and both their Majesties walked together, amidst the Acclamations of the People, who wished them all prosperous Success in their Undertakings. Then they went to the Castle, and held a Council about Ways and Means

Henry III. 1589. Pope Sixtus V. Means of carrying on the War successfully ; and by the King of *Navarre's* Advice, it was resolved to send ten thousand Crowns to *Sedan*, for the Relief of the distressed Garison. In the mean while, those who waited in the Court-Yard for their Majesties, Royalists and *Navarreans* embraced mutually one another, detesting their former Hatred and the sad Effects thereof, and promising to behave for the future, one to another as Fellow-Countrymen, they walked together, talking of the present State of Affairs ; so that it seemed that their former Ill-will was so effectually, and in a Minute suppressed, that the *Frenchmen* came to the Assistance of *Frenchmen*, for quenching the burning Flame which consumed their common Country. After the Council was over, the two Kings got on Horseback to go into the City. His Majesty finding the King of *Navarre's* Guards at the Castle-Gate, was much surprized at it ; but their Master dissembling that they were there by his own Orders, feigned to be angry against them, and asked them in a rough Manner, what Business they had there ? By that means the King was appeased, and thinking that he was in earnest, he took their Part, and excused what they had done : These Guards went before, and the two Kings arrived at the Bridge of *St. Anne*, where the King of *Navarre* took his Leave of his Majesty, and having crossed the River to please his Courtiers and faithful Servants, he lodged that Night in the Suburb of *St. Symphorien*, where his own Troops had their Quarters.

The next Day, having set aside all Mistrust, he went into the City, very early in the Morning, attended only with a Page, tho' the King was not yet got up, he was admitted to his Bed-

Bed-Chamber, to the great Surprize of all those who knew it afterwards, and who had heard him saying that he would never come alone into the King's Chamber, unless he was attended by two Armies, one on each side. Then when he had brought back his Troops beyond the River, the King, by his Advice, lodged three Regiments in the Suburbs. The Princes of his Blood, and his most faithful and trusty Servants, amongst others the Cardinal of *Lenoncourt*, Marshal of *Montmorancy*, the Dukes of *Espernon* and of *Nevers*, with several others, were come to his Majesty at *Blois* and attended him to *Tours*. Each of them had brought some Troops along with him. Now the Duke of *Mayenne* knowing the situation of Affairs at Court, thought to have met with a fair Opportunity of forwarding his own Interest (e).

Henry III.
1589.
Pope Six-
tus V.

The King's Reconciliation with *Navarre* gave the Leaguers a new Subject for inveighing against him; they cried out that now it was plain he was a Heretick in his Heart, or rather had no Religion at all: And upon this Occasion, the *Sorbonists* decreed, that his Name should be left out of the Canon of the Mass, and that in the Prayers instead of *pro Rege nostro*, for our King, the Words *pro Christianis Principibus nostris*, for our Christian Princes, meaning the Princes of the House of *Lorraine*, should be substituted. And to support all their Proceedings, together with the Justice of degrading the King from his Royalty, several Pamphlets were published, no longer without the Author's Name, as it had been done till now, but having stifled all Remorse of Conscience, and shaken off all Sense of Shame and Duty, they put their Glory in their Shame, amongst

CCXVI.
Bad and
good Con-
sequences
of that Re-
conciliation.

(e) Thuan. Lib. xcv.

others,

Henry III. others, *Boucher* wrote his famous, or rather infamous Book *de justa Abdicatione Henrici III. à Francorum Regno*, of the just Degradation of Henry III. from being King of *France*, which was actually in the Press when the said King was murdered. Besides that *Mayenne* and his Partners made such an Uproar at *Rome* by their Emissaries, who filled the Pope's and Cardinals Ears with so many Falshoods concerning that Reconciliation, that *Sixtus V.* published a *Monitory* against the King, whereby he commanded him to release the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the Archbishop of *Lyons* in ten days after the publishing of the said *Monitory*, and to notify the said Releasement by his Letters, or some other publick Instrument directed to the Apostolical See, signed and subscribed with his own Hand, and sealed with his Royal Seal in 30 Days after. If he don't obey he excommunicates him, and fulminates Anathemas against him, declaring him obnoxious to all the Church-Censures, especially those expressed in the Bull *Cæna Domini, &c.* And this is to be understood, not only of the King, but likewise of all his Adherents, and those who by what means soever do or shall abet him. Furthermore, he summons him to appear before him in 60 Days after he shall have received notice of these Summons's, either in Person or by his Proctors, in order to shew cause why he had murdered the Cardinal of *Guise*, and now detains Prisoners the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the Archbishop of *Lyons*, and why Sentence shall not be passed against him, &c. Adding, that he could not be absolved but by the Pope himself, except at the point of death, and that too upon Promise to submit himself to whatever the Church should inflict upon him.

All these Proceedings either of the *Sorbonists* Henry III. against their own Sovereign, or of the Pope against the first King of *Christendom* in *Europe*,^{1589.} were enough to turn the People's Heads, and to make them run into all manner of Excesses against Royal Majesty; and so it happened, and that rebellious Spirit, like an epidemical Distemper, raged every where, and caused such strange Convulsion Fits upon Men, that any thing like it had never been seen before.

But on the other side, nothing could be more advantageous to the King in the present Circumstances, than that Union with the Reformed Party, and it was not long before he reap'd the Benefit thereof; and indeed the Pope's Monitory against him was no sooner made publick than the Senate of *Venice*, the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, and the Duke of *Mantua*, sent notice thereof to that Prince by the means of *Isaiab Brochard* Lord of *La Clielle*, formerly his Envoy to the Great Duke, and advised his Majesty, to let the Pope know as soon as possible, by the said *La Clielle*, that he had been informed by some Princes his Allies, of the Decree published against him; which seemed unto him a new and very unjust Proceeding: that he had no reason to expect any such thing from the Holy See, which was beholden to himself and to his Ancestors for so many Favours heap'd one over another upon it. That he desired he should know, that it was in vain to inquire why he had caused the Duke and the Cardinal of *Guise* to be put to death, and why he detain'd the Cardinal of *Bourbon* and the Archbishop of *Lyons* close Prisoners, since the Reasons thereof were obvious to all the World, and that all the Nations were informed of the Plots they had hatch'd and very nearly executed against him and the Kingdom;

Henry III. Kingdom; that there was no need of any further Arguments for evincing what he asserted; ^{1589.} it was sufficient for that purpose to consider the Pope Sixtus V. Behaviour of the Duke of *Mayenne* and his Accomplices, who persisted in their unnatural Rebellion, and treading in the Steps of the Duke of *Guise*, were doing their utmost Efforts to compleat openly what he had begun; that if he has done any thing amiss, which however he don't own, that has been remitted unto him by his Confessor in virtue of a Brief granted for that purpose by the Pope himself; and that he was not obliged to account for any of his Actions but only to God; and that he was no more obnoxious to the Church's Censures than his Predecessors. Nevertheless to shew the World that he declined not the Pope's Authority, he was resolved to go to *Rome* in a short time, but attended with a Company suitable to his high Dignity, and so strong and powerful that he might not be denied free Passage. Trusting himself that having evinced the Justice of his Cause before the World, the Decree shall be reversed, nay his Holiness will be glad to grant him Absolution if required (e).

The Senate of *Venice*, the Great Duke, and the Duke of *Mantua*, were likewise to interfere, and to shew the Audaciousness, Pride and Injustice of his Proceedings. They further advised his Majesty to seize upon *Avignon* and the *Venaissine* County, by the means of *La Vallette* Governour of *Provence*, or of *Alphonso Ornano* assisted with *Les Diguieres's* Forces, and to give out that he had done it by his Authority, to preserve for the Holy See those Countries that have been always under the Crown's Protection, from falling into the Hands of those

those who had a greater Regard for their own Henry III.
 Interest than for the Holy See, and that he had 1589.
 been forced to do it, seeing that *Sixtus V.* that Pope Six-
 unworthy Head of the Church, did not endea- tus V.
 vour as becometh the Common Father of all
 Christians, to maintain Peace and Concord be-
 tween the Christian Princes, but rather foment-
 ed Discord amongst them; that he has taken
 possession of these Countries for preventing his
 pernicious Designs, being ready to restore them
 as soon as Peace and Tranquility shall be settled
 in his Kingdom, and the Pope shall be better
 tempered.

Such were the Counsels given to the King by
 the Princes of *Italy* who knew perfectly well
 that *Sixtus's* wild Temper could not be moved
 by any Submissions or Intreaties, but only by
 Force and hard Usage and Language. And
 had it not been for the King's sudden death,
 very likely that Pontiff would not have fared
 better than some of his proud Predecessors (*f*).

I can't tell whether *Clielle's* Deputation took
 place, nor whether those States of *Italy* did ac-
 tually interfere with the Pope in the King's be-
 half. I know that there was a Truce in *Dauphiné*
 between the King's Generals and *Les Diguieres*,
 and that they united their Forces together to
 act conjointly against the *Leaguers* and the
 Duke of *Savoy*. But the Great Duke of *Tus-*
cany went much further than any other Prince,
 for he lent the King two hundred thousand
 Crowns, which he took care to remit safely in-
 to *Germany*.

Besides these Advantages, the Duke of *Mont-*
pensier routed the *Gaulterian* Army in *Normandy*;
 they were so called from the Parish of *La Cha-*
pelle Gaultier, where a few Years before, they
 had

(*f*) Idem Ibid,

Henry III. had their first Assembly in order to oppose the
 1589. Incurfions of the Soldiery, that went plundering
 Pope Six- and committing many intolerable Outrages
 tus V. upon the poor Peasants and other Country-
 Men. That Example was soon followed by others; and their Number being increased, they became more noxious to the Country than the Soldiery. They were sometimes above sixteen thousand Men, dispersed in the Villages, who at a certain Signal were used to leave their Work, to take their Arms, and repair to the Place appointed by their Captains: Now the Leaguers made use of them, for disturbing the Peace in that Province, and forwarding their Interest in it; the Count of *Brissac*, whom the Marshal of *Aumont* had lately caused to fly from *Angers*, was come into *Normandy*, and had offered himself to the *Gualterians* to be their Chief, and had been accepted, but was intirely routed at *Argentan*, 3000 of them were killed upon the spot, 1200 taken Prisoners, 400 whereof were condemned to Slavery, the rest released; from that time they were so well dispersed, that they were never seen after. *Senlis*, besieged by the Duke of *Aumale*, was relieved about the same time by the most renowned *La Nouë*, called *Iron-Arm*, under the Command of the Duke of *Longueville*, and by that Great Man's Prudence and Courage, *Aumale's* Army was intirely routed, leaving more than 1200 Men killed upon the Field. But the Count of *Brienne*, a Royalist, was likewise routed by the Duke of *Mayenne*, having been surprized near *Amboise*, he lost 600 Men, three Standards, and was taken Prisoner.

The King himself was in great danger of being killed, or at least taken Prisoner at *Tours*, by the Duke of *Mayenne*. That General assailed
 one

one of the Suburbs of that City, and carried it after a long and stout Resistance. His Majesty was riding that Morning, in that Suburb, with some of his Generals and Courtiers, when on a sudden the Duke's Scouts were seen coming full Gallop; and scarce had he Time enough to retire into the City, and order the Gates thereof to be shut up, lest the young Nobility should rush inconsiderately among the Enemies: Then he wrote to the King of *Navarre* to inform him of the Danger he was in, and to desire him to send his Arquebusiers in all haste to his Assistance, which he did, and sent them the same Day, under the Command of the Count *Coligny*; they with the King's *Switzers* of the Regiment of *Galati*, performed Wonders; the brave *Grillon*, who commanded the whole Infantry in the Duke of *Espernon's* Absence, distinguished himself on this Occasion: but at last, being over-powered by Numbers, they could not hold out any longer, and were obliged to retreat, after having fought for nine Hours together, and to leave that Suburb at the Discretion of the Enemy. The Chevalier *Claude of Lorraine* stained that Victory by the most shameful and abominable Actions, not sparing even the Churches nor Convents, where Women and Virgins had taken Refuge with their best Moveables; he entered the Churches, plundered the Altars; at the foot of them he ravished Women in presence of their Husbands, and deflowered Virgins in presence of their Parents. These impious Leaguers were not ashamed to give out that every thing was allowed and forgiven to those who fought for Religion's sake, being supported by the *Pope*, and that the same Things were not allowed to Here-

Henry III.
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Pope Six-
tus V.

Henry III. ticks, (so they called the Royalists,) which were
 1589. to Catholicks.
 Pope Six-
 tus V.

But the next Day, the 9th of *May*, they altered their Language and Behaviour; for the Duke of *Mayenne* understanding that the King of *Navarre* was in full march with the rest of his Troops, and would arrive at Noon, he thought proper to march off privately and silently; his Rear was pursued, and some of them killed or taken Prisoners. The King of *Navarre* arrived about Mid-day, and was most graciously received by his Most Christian Majesty. The Royalists lost on that Occasion about 300 Men, amongst whom were several Persons of Note, the Loss of the Enemy was not above 150, very few Persons of Note were found amongst them. *Mayenne* marched to *Mans*, and caused a Relation of his Exploits to be published, full of Falshoods, in order to dazzle the *Parisians* Eyes.

The King being eased of his Fears, by the Departure of the Duke, divided the Administration of his Affairs in this Manner; he charged the King of *Navarre* with the chief Care of the War, and sent him to *Baugency*, in order to frighten *Orleans* with the Strength of the Army. He kept by himself Part of the Troops, applying himself to Business, he sent the Count of *Soissons* into *Britanny*; and named *Forget*, Lord of *Fresnes*, his Ambassador to the Court of *Madrid*, with Orders to require of the King of *Spain*, that if he would not stand his Friend, at least he should send no Supplies to the Duke of *Mayenne*. At the same time, having no News of *Sancy*, he dispatched *Gaspar de Schomberg*, Count of *Nanteuil*, and *James August Thuanus*, for raising in *Germany* 10000 Horse and 16000 Foot. Then he marched in Person

towards *Poitiers*, in hopes to secure that City in his Interest, but most part of his Designs were abortive, *Orleans* persisted in its Rebellion notwithstanding the Approach of *Navarre*; the Count of *Soissons* was taken Prisoner by the Duke of *Mercœur*, and the King did not meet the Inhabitants of *Poitiers* such as he expected to find them (f).

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tus V.

Therefore he came back to *Tours*, where he had a good mind to live as idly as he had done before, in the time of his Prosperity, flattering himself with the hopes of some Agreement with the Leaguers: But the King of *Navarre* having visited him at ten a clock in the Evening, roused him up by so many Motives, that he obliged him to exert himself in a way suitable to his Dignity, giving him hopes that after two Months of hard Labour he would be at rest for all the Days of his Life.

The Rout of *Aumale's* Army above mentioned, and that of *De Saveuse* a desperate Leaguer, by the Count of *Chatillon*, and the News of *Sancy's* coming with a strong Army from *Switzerland*; these good Successes helped much to induce him to take that Resolution.

The two Kings resolved to march with their united Forces to *Paris*; in their way they stormed *Gergau*, five Leagues distant from *Orleans*, *Jallange* was Commander thereof, the most part of the Garrison was put to the Sword, and the Commander was condemned to be hang'd for his Obstinacy; a strong Garrison was put in the Town, in order to oppose the Incursions of those of *Orleans*; *Gien* and *La Charité* surrendered themselves, so that all the Bridges on the *Loire*, those of *Orleans* and *Nantz* excepted, were in possession of the Royalists. *Pluviers*

The two
Kings
march to
besiege
Paris.

Henry III. in *Beauſſe* was ſtormed and plundered for her
 1589. Reſiſtance by the King of *Navarre*, the Officers
Pope Six- of the Garifon were likewise executed; *Eſ-*
tus V. *tampes* ſhared the ſame Fate for the ſame Rea-
 ſon, the Baron of *St. Germain* Governor thereof
 was beheaded, *Bergeroneau* the King's Attor-
 ney and ſome other Citizens were hanged for
 their Rebellion. *Dourdan* ſubmitted voluntarily;
 but *Poiſſi* not following that good Example,
 was ſtormed and plundered. *Pontoife* was be-
 ſieged in form, *D'Alincourt* Son to *Villeroy* late
 Secretary of State was Governor thereof, the
 Garifon was 3000 Men ſtrong, however he ca-
 pitulated when the Church of the Suburb of
 our Lady had been carried by Storm.

CCXVIII. While the two Kings were before *Pontoife*,
Sancy they were joined the Day before its Reddition,
joins the which was the 26th or 27th of *July*, by *Sancy*
King's Ar- with his Auxiliaries, amounting to 10000 *Swit-*
my with zers, 2000 *German* Foot, and 1500 *Reiſters*;
his Auxiliaries. he was received with the greateſt marks of Joy
 and Acknowledgement by the King, and in-
 deed the Fidelity to his King and Love for his
 Country which that generous Patriot ſhewed
 forth on this Occaſion, cannot be ſufficiently
 commended. His Name was *Nicolas de Har-*
Great Ge- lay Baron of *Sancy*; the King having expoſed
neceſſity of in his Council the ſad Condition he was in, and
that Lord. finding in his Counſellors more Compaſſion
 than real Aſſiſtance, *Sancy* who was then Maſ-
 ter of the Requeſts, but a Man who under the
 Magiſtrate carried a Soul truly great and noble,
 ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe, and concluded with
 the abſolute Neceſſity of having an Army of
 Foreigners, which could not be raiſed more
 commodiouſly or diligently than in *Switzèrland*.
 Every one agreed with him in that Point, not
 without bantering him, aſking of one another,
Who

Who shall be that happy or rather generous Frenchman, who will levy such an Army, having no other means than the King's Letters? I ought not to be the Man, says he, (detesting inwardly the Ungratefulness of many of them who had exceedingly enriched themselves by the King's Favours, and at the Cost of his Reputation and Credit) *but however I shall be that Man.* And without delay he accepted the Commission; which he executed with the loss of his whole Estate, and having overcome all the great Difficulties which the Duke of Savoy opposed to him, it is almost incredible what great Dangers and Obstacles he had to overcome either in going to or returning from Switzerland. Being arrived in Burgundy with that Army, the Viscount of La Guiche, who had the Warrant of Colonel of the Switzers, went thither to take upon him the Command thereof; *No, no, Sir,* says Sancy, *you may keep your Paper, but I shall keep my Men.* Which Answer was much approved in the Council of War, and served only to hasten the necessary Provisions for such an important Charge.

When he arrived at *Pontoise*, the King could not refrain from Tears, when he embraced him, and Sancy having desired his Majesty to let him know the reason of so melancholy a Reception when his Affairs were in so prosperous a Condition; *I weep,* says the King, *because I have nothing better for the present than Tears and Promises for recompensing so important a Service, but if God grants me Life and Means, I give you my word that I will make you so great, that you will be the Object of Envy to the greatest of my Kingdom.* Three Days after the King was assassinated, and that Army served for maintaining the Right of Henry IV. and settling

Henry III.
1589.
Pope Six-
tus V.

Henry III. the Crown upon him; who continued his
 1589. Gratitude to him till the time of that free An-
 Pope Six- swer he gave to the Lady of *Liancourt* Duchefs
 tus. V. of *Beaufort* and Mistress to the King. She had
 procured the Marriage of *Sebastian Zamet* with
Magdalen Le Clerc, by whom he had already
 several Children, which had been legitimated
 with great Ceremony in presence of the whole
 Court; that had been done purposely in order to
 prepare the People's Minds and Eyes by that
 Precedent, not to be surprized at what she had
 a mind to offer very soon to their Sight, in or-
 der to obtain what she aimed at: And feigning
 to be ignorant upon this Point, she asked *San-*
cy whether that manner of legitimating Chil-
 dren was safe and sufficient? Yes Madam, says
 he. She thinking to have catch'd him in the
 Trap, returned, How Sir, and if the King had
 a mind to marry me, would then our Children
 be legitimate? No, no, Madam, says he with In-
 dignation against her Artifices and Designs, for
 in *France* the King's Bastards are never better
 than Sons of a W—e. That Freedom cost
 him very dear, for he was dismissed from his
 Place of Super-Intendant of the King's Ex-
 chequer; and he afforded the World another
 Instance of Princes' Ungratefulness for their
 best and most faithful Servants, as *Belisarius*
 had done formerly in the Emperor *Justinian's*
 Time: for that generous Gentleman, to whom
 King *Henry IV.* was beholden, one may say for
 his Crown, was quite forgotten by that un-
 grateful Prince, and tho' he had administred
 the Exchequer for three Years together, ne-
 vertheless he had been so faithful and con-
 scientious in the Discharge of his Trust, that
 he had not bought an Inch of Land, nor could
 he pay any of his Debts, but his own Lands,
 Mannors,

Manors, and Lordships remained mortgaged, and his beautiful Diamond that went by his Name, *THE SANCY*, remained pawn'd; (it was bought afterwards by King *James*). So he was reduced to Poverty, for his Trouble of saving the State, by the Loss of his own Estate (g). I thought myself in Duty bound, to say so much to the Honour of that great Man's Memory, blasted too inconsiderately by *Mezeray*, who has copied after *Sully's* Memoirs, not minding that he was *Sancy's* Enemy, and the Duchess of *Beaufort's* Friend.

Now the Royal Army, strengthened by the Junction of *Sancy's* Auxiliaries, became formidable to his Enemies, being composed of near 38000 Men, Horse and Foot. After the Reddition of *Pontoise*, it marched to *St. Cloud*, which surrendered after a little Resistance, the King took his Quarters in it, and lodged in *Gondy's* House; the King of *Navarre* took his own at *Meudon*; his Troops extended from *Vanvres* to the Bridge of *Charenton*, the King's from *St. Cloud* to *Nuilly's Haven*.

At the Sight of that Royal Army, the Royalists that were in good Number in *Paris*, the Timorous and the Wealthy, declared themselves openly for an Agreement and a Reconciliation with the King; they went from House to House exhorting their Friends to join with them. The Dread of a terrible but deserved Punishment, chilled the Blood of the hottest Leaguers, in vain the seditious Preachers did their best Endeavours to keep up their Spirits by their Declamations and false News; as they had given no Bounds to their unnatural Rebellion; so they expected no Mercy. It was to be

O o 4

feared,

Henry III. feared, lest in the General Assault, which was
 1589. appointed for the second of *August*, they should
 Pope Six- be totally disheartened and unable to withstand;
 tus V. and more than that, lest the Royalists of the
 City should attack them in the Rear, and open
 a Gate to the Assaultors, while they were busy
 in fighting.

The Duke of *Mayenne* had already taken a
 desperate Resolution, *viz.* to come out with
 4000 Men as desperate as himself, to attack
 the Royalists, and to vanquish or die. Such was
 his Resolution, when a dreadful Stroke saved
 him from the very Brim of the Precipice.

CCXX. Whether God's Justice was not yet satisfied,
 King Hen- or that it required an Example of the first Qua-
 ry murder- lity, which might produce a Revolution, where-
 ed by a lity, which might produce a Revolution, where-
 Monk. by the State should be reformed; howbeit, God
 Almighty permitted, that a miserable Wretch
 possessed with the Spirit of Superstition, the
 worst of all the Spirits, perpetrated upon his
 Majesty the most heinous of all Parricides,
 stabbing him in the Belly with a Knife, which
 he kept concealed in his Sleeve, when he was
 admitted to the King's Audience on pretence
 of having some great Secret to reveal. His
 Name was JAMES CLEMENT, a Dominican
 Fryar, who was in Priest's Orders. The
 King feeling himself wounded, drew the Knife
 out of his Belly, and struck the Villain with
 it over the Eye; then being seized by his Ser-
 vants, that had withdrawn at his Command,
 he was killed upon the spot. The Surgeons
 having searched the Wound, at first were in
 hopes that it would not prove mortal; but
 having been seized with a violent Fever the
 next Night, and suffering the bitterest Pains,
 all hopes of his Cure vanished away, and he
 expired the next Morning, the second Day of
August.

August. It is certain, that he spent his Time, Henry III. 1589. Pope Sixtus V. after he had been wounded, to his Death, in Reflexions, and Preparations suitable to his present Condition, humbling himself under the mighty hand of God, giving Thanks for the true Knowledge he had given him of the Vanity of Scepters and Crowns; his Sorrows for the Sins of his past Life were so quick, and attended with so many Protestations of Amendment, if God was pleased to prolong his Days, tho' he desired not to live any longer than it was expedient for bringing forth Fruits of a true Repentance; that the Constancy and Greatness of Soul wherewith he received Death must be intirely ascribed to the victorious Power of the merciful Grace of God. He received Death, not as a King infatuated with his Greatness, loathing the very thought of renouncing his worldly Advantages, but as a Criminal fully convinced of the Justice of the Sentence passed against him, and who looks upon the Execution thereof as an Attonement for his Crimes, which might procure him Forgiveness and Mercy before the dreadful Tribunal of God: In a word, as the Beginnings of his Life had been very glorious, so his End was most holy; as by the former Actions of his Life, he had been judged worthy to wear a Crown, before he had any; so by his last, he made those that were present to judge that he exchanged his earthly Crown for an heavenly one.

After what I have said of his Government, during the whole Course of his Reign, I need His Character. not to insist much upon his Character. He was well-shaped, he had a majestic and agreeable Mien, no Man in his Kingdom spoke so gracefully as he did, he was thought too curious for a great King in the Choice of his

Ex-

Henry III. Expressions, he was extremely stedfast in the
 1589. Religion of his Ancestors, and had an exceed-
Pope Six- ing Respect for Church-Men, Monks, &c. he
tus V. was naturally a strict Lover of Justice, of a
 found Judgment, and quick Apprehension, but
 above all, he exceeded all his Predecessors by
 his Liberality, and in the Manner he gave: In a
 word, the Seeds of all those Virtues which
 adorn the Throne, and serve to make a Prince
 dreaded, revered, beloved by Foreigners
 as well as by his own Subjects, were to be
 found in *Henry III*, and had they been care-
 fully cherished up, had he had one *Carnavalet*
 by him, to instruct and admonish him, he
 would have been actually dreaded, revered
 and beloved, he would have proved the De-
 light of Mankind in general, and especially of
 his Subjects. But for his own, and the King-
 dom's Misfortune, *Carnavalet* died too soon;
 and the Queen his Mother exceedingly thirsty
 after Dominion, thought that there was no bet-
 ter way of gratifying her Ambition than by
 bringing her Son to live a dissolute Life. She
 named *Villequier* as the most proper to com-
 pass her Designs, being the most dissolute and
 profligate Man of the Kingdom, and it may be
 of that Age; he succeeded to *Carnavalet* in
 the Government of that Prince; who being
 still of an Age, wherein love of Pleasures pre-
 vails above any thing else, he proved soon a
 great Proficient either in Idleness or in the most
 unlawful Pleasures, his Temper and Inclinati-
 ons were quite altered, even his Virtues became
 so many Vices, not keeping them in a just
 Bound, his Liberality degenerated into Profuse-
 ness, his Prudence into Timorousness, his Cle-
 mency into Pusillanimity and even Cowardice;
 and he carried this so far, that after he had
 been

been expelled from *Paris*, he desired, he required, nay he basely besought to be reconciled with the worst of his Enemies; ordering Prayers to be put up in all Churches for that purpose. In a word, that victorious Prince, inured from his tender Years to the Fatigues and Hardships of the War, became a *Sardanapalus*, or an *Heliogabalus*, living in the Profuseness of an odious Luxury, in the Idleness of a shameful Retirement; spending his Time away either in seeing of Dancing, or in stroaking of Puppies, whereof he had always a great Number of all Kinds; or in making Parrots to speak, or in cutting Paper, or in curling his own and his Minions Hair; and in other things no less unbecoming, not only a King, but a Man. Nay, he made but too often his Pastime of the most heinous Crimes against Nature. And whereas he could not easily indulge himself in these Things in the time of War, therefore he never consented to it but with the greatest Reluctancy; not that he had any regard for the Reformed, whom he hated above all things; but, because he could not put them to any Trouble, without disturbing the Course of Life, which he was resolved to pursue. Nevertheless, as he saw that he could not leave them in Peace, without rendering himself obnoxious to the Censure of his, and their own Enemies, as if he did countenance Heresy; he thought that he could not better blot out these Impressions, than by the Practice of certain superstitious Acts of Devotion; such as Processions, Pilgrimages, &c. whereby he debased the Royal Majesty, and rendered himself despicable to his Subjects; who considering his constant Way of Living, could not be long imposed upon by such outward Signs of Humiliation

Henry III.
1589.
Pope Six-
tus V.

Henry III. miliation and Penitence, but deemed them to
 1589. be so many Evidences of a thorough Hypo-
 Pope Six- crisy. He instituted or rather restored the Or-
 tus V. der of the Holy Ghost, for the Reasons men-
 tioned above : That Order had been formerly
 instituted in the Year 1352, by *Lewis of Anjou*,
 furnamed of *Tarente*, King of *Jerusalem* and
Sicily; but dying without Issue, that Order ended
 with that Prince, and it would have been in-
 tirely lost, had not the Original of the Consti-
 tutions thereof fallen into the hands of the
 Senate of *Venice*, who presented King *Henry*
 with it, when he came into that City, as he
 returned from *Poland*.

Besides that military Order, he instituted se-
 veral Societies or Fraternities of Penitents of all
 Sorts, in some of them he admitted the Com-
 moners of *Paris*, with whom he behaved him-
 self outwardly with great Devotion ; but in
 others he admitted only the Lords of his
 Court, and in them his Austerity was but
 outward, and it was publicly rumoured, that
 at *Vincennes*, *Bologn* and other Places, where
 they were used to meet together, it was rather
 for indulging themselves in all unlawful Plea-
 sures, than for doing Penance. The Lady of
Francis Lord of *St. Luc*, Great Master of the
 Artillery was of that Opinion, when she went
 to meet her Husband in his Cell of Penitent :
 She put him to such a Shame for his Hypo-
 crisy, that they both resolved to frighten the
 King, who lodged in the next Cell, by the
 means of a long Pipe she herself run through
 a little Hole, in the Dark, and counterfeiting
 the nightly Ghost, she upbraided him with all
 that her Husband had told her about the
 Dissoluteness and Lewdness of the Court, and
 threatened him with the heaviest Judgments
 of

of God : the King was so much terrified, that Henry III.
 he had much ado to recover himself from the 1589.
 Fright. Pope Six-
tus V.

But amongst other Fraternities, there was a singular one, which he had brought from Poland, namely, THE FRATERNITY OF DEATH, instituted on account of the Death and Passion of *Our Lord Jesus* ; he admitted into this the Commoners of *Paris*, they met together every Friday, and when Part of the Service was done, they put out the Candles, and scourged themselves, singing or uttering distinctly the 51st and 130th Psalms.

Such was *Henry III*, of *Valois*, the last King of that Branch, which had swayed the Scepter for two hundred and sixty one Years ; reckoning from *Philip VI*, in 1328. The Clergy and Monks for whom he had had the greatest Regard, and to whom he had shewed the greatest Kindness, these very Men were the most instrumental in his Ruin, and Destruction. And yet, had not the Subjects been so ill governed as they were ; had not his scandalous Way of Living, the Burden of Imposts, the Insolence of Favourites, given them both Aversion and Contempt for the Government ; the Pope, the *Sorbonne*, the *Jesuits*, nor all the Clergy of *France*, all those great Abettors and Supporters of the *League*, would not have been able to compass their Ends (j).

He died without any Issue of his Consort *Lovisa of Lorain*, in the thirty eighth Year of his Age, being born on the nineteenth of September 1551, and in the sixteenth of his Reign, having

(j) *Tbuan. Lib. xcvi. Agricola Continuation des Memoires de Castelnau, Preface Vie de Henry le Grand. Memoires de la Ligue, Tome III.*

Henry III. having succeeded to his Brother *Charles IX.*
 1589. on the thirtieth of May 1574.

Pope Six-
tus V.

When the *Parisians* heard of his Death, they ran almost mad for Joy, especially the Preachers, who compared the heinous Action of *James Clement*, to *Judith's*, and extolled him to the Skies, as an holy Martyr. But if such mad Pranks can any ways be excused, in People who thought themselves undone, the very Minute they saw themselves delivered from the threatening Danger; how can be excused *Sixtus V.* who being far distant, and not personally concerned in these Affairs, was in a better Condition of judging rightly of them; but nevertheless behaved himself on this Occasion, in a Way so contrary to Christianity, nay to the very Rules of common Decency? For the News of the King's Death having reached *Rome*, he held a Consistory on the 11th of *September*, and delivered a Speech, wherein he most impiously perverted the Meaning of the Scripture, for asserting his Devilish Maxims. I give here an Abstract thereof.

Sixtus V's
Speech on
this Occa-
sion.

“ Considering oftentimes and seriously with-
 “ in myself, and applying the utmost of my
 “ Understanding to these Things, which now
 “ of late, by the Will of God, are come to
 “ pass, I think I may fitly use the Words of
 “ the Prophet *Habbakuk*, saying, *I have wrought*
 “ *a Work in your Days, which no Man will be-*
 “ *lieve when it shall be told him. Habbak. i. 5.*
 “ The *French King* is slain by the hands of a
 “ Fryar!

“ For to this it may be truly compared, tho'
 “ the Prophet spake of another Matter, name-
 “ ly, of the *Incarnation of our Lord*, which
 “ exceeded all other Wonders and Miracles.
 “ As

“ As also the Apostle referreth the same Words Henry III. 1589. Pope Sixtus V.
 “ to the *Resurrection of Christ*, &c. This
 “ thing, of which we are now speaking, and
 “ which hath happened in our Days, is a very
 “ famous, memorable, and well-nigh incre-
 “ dible Thing; not done or accomplished
 “ without the particular Providence and Dis-
 “ position of the Almighty. A Fryar hath
 “ killed a King, not a painted one in Paper, nor
 “ pictured out upon a Wall; but the *French*
 “ King in the middle of his Armies, incompassed
 “ round about with his Guards and Soldiers:
 “ Which truly is such a great Act, and done in
 “ such a Manner, that none will believe it when
 “ it shall be told them, and perhaps our Poste-
 “ rity after us will account and esteem it but a
 “ Fable.—That the said King is dead, it is
 “ easily to be believed; but that he has been
 “ killed, and taken away in such sort, is hard-
 “ ly credible: Even as we presently assent that
 “ Christ is born of a *Woman*; but if we fur-
 “ ther add, of a *Virgin Woman*, then accord-
 “ ing to human Reason, we cannot assent to
 “ it.—But if it is added, that it was
 “ wrought supernaturally by the Operation of
 “ the *Holy Ghost*, then we truly assent to it,
 “ and faithfully believe it ——— In the same
 “ manner, tho’ to Natural Reason and human
 “ Capacity it may seem a thing incredible or
 “ altogether improbable, that such a mighty
 “ King should be slain in the midst of his Ar-
 “ my, invironed round with his Guards and
 “ Soldiers, by a poor, simple, weak Fryar;
 “ yet considering the great and grievous Sins
 “ of this King, and the special Providence of
 “ the Almighty therein, and by what a strange
 “ and wonderful Way, he hath accomplished
 “ his

Henry III. 1589. Pope Sixtus V. “ his most just Will and Judgment against him,
 “ then we fully and most firmly believe it;
 “ and therefore this great and miraculous
 “ Work we are to ascribe to a particular Pro-
 “ vidence of God only.——And there is no
 “ Instance in the *Holy Writ* of this Nature,
 “ wherein the Celestial Operation more ap-
 “ peareth than in this whereof we are now
 “ speaking.

“ We read in the first Book of *Maccabees*
 “ ch. vi. how *Eleazar* run himself upon a cer-
 “ tain Death, to kill the King, who was a pro-
 “ fessed Enemy and Persecutor of the People
 “ and Children of God.——Here in this
 “ Instance, we may see something not unlike
 “ to ours; *viz.* as to Zeal, Fortitude of Mind,
 “ and the Issue of the Enterprize; but in the
 “ rest there is no Comparison to be made. *E-*
 “ *leazar* was a Soldier, used to Weapons, and
 “ trained up in Wars, set in Battel, imbolden-
 “ ed with Courage; and inflamed with Anger
 “ and Rage: This a Fryar, not inured to
 “ fighting, and so abhorring Blood, by the
 “ Order of his Profession, that perhaps he
 “ could not abide the opening of a Vein. *E-*
 “ *leazar* knew the kind of his Death, and the
 “ Place of his Burial.——This Man looked
 “ for a certain Death, and expected nothing
 “ but most cruel and unheard of Torments,
 “ and that he should want a Grave to rest with-
 “ in.——And there are many other Things
 “ wherein these two Instances can suffer no
 “ Comparison.”

Then he brings forth that of *Judith*, and
 draws the same Inference as from the former.
 Then he adds, “ Indeed I could not believe this
 “ to have been done otherwise than by the *Holy*
 “ *Purpose*

“ *Purpose of God*, unless I should captivate or Henry III.
 “ submit my Understanding to the Obedience 1589.
 “ of Christ, who determined by these mira- Pope Six-
 “ culous Means to deliver and set at liberty the tus V.
 “ City of *Paris* — and to punish the noto-
 “ rious Sins of that King, and to deprive him
 “ of this Life by so unhappy and infamous a
 “ Death: And we truly (not without great in-
 “ ward Grief,) have oftentimes foretold, that,
 “ as he was the last of his Name and Family,
 “ so was he like to have and make some
 “ strange and shameful End of his Life. This
 “ I have said several times, not only to the
 “ Cardinals of *Joyeuse*, *Lenoncourt*, and *Gondi*,
 “ but also to the Marquis of *Pisani* his Em-
 “ bassador at this Court. — His unhappy
 “ and unlucky End deprives him also of those
 “ honourable Offices, and Respects which the
 “ Holy See is wont to pay to Emperors and
 “ Kings; which we most willingly would
 “ likewise have bestowed on him, if the Holy
 “ Scriptures in this Case had not altogether
 “ forbidden it.” Whereupon he quotes the 1st
 Epistle of *St. John* ch. v. v. 16. and applies it to
 the King, charging him with being dead in a
 mortal Sin, because he was dead in a strict U-
 nion with the King of *Navarre* and the *Hugo-*
rots, whereof his Army was for the most part
 composed (k).

Such were in those Days the Doctrines
 taught and asserted at *Rome*, by no less a
 Master, than THAT GREAT AND
 INFALLIBLE JUDGE OF ALL
 CONTROVERSIES, THE POPE.
 Whether he hath really altered his Mind since
 that time, or whether he wants only a proper

(k) Thuanus Lib. xvi.

Henry III. Opportunity for exerting himself and putting
 1589. the old Maxims in practice, and whether it is
 Pope Six- very safe for any civil Society professing the
 tus V. Protestant Religion to suffer tamely the growth
 of Popery amongst them ; I refer my self for it
 to the Wisdom of the Legislature ; and am
 going to put an end to this Volume by this
 Reflexion upon the hard Fate of *Henry III. viz.*

Tho' such an unnatural Rebellion of the Sub-
 jects against their lawful Sovereign could not
 be sufficiently detested by every truly sober and
 honest Mind ; yet every Sovereign ought to
 take warning by this and such like Examples,
 and remember that tho' he derives his Power
 and Authority from God himself, nevertheless
 the Subjection and Obedience of the Subjects is
 very often but a frail thing, depending in great
 measure on their Caprice and Fancy. A So-
 vereign is the living Image of Almighty God,
 it is true, but he must mind the Duties which
 such a Relation lays on him, he must bear some
 Resemblance with that Almighty which he re-
 presents upon Earth : How can he shew it
 forth? not always by the Exercise of his Au-
 thority to the utmost of his power ; if so, the
Caligula's, Nero's, Caracalla's, the worst of
 the Tyrants would have proved the best Images
 of that Supreme Being, which is impious to
 think ; but by his Justice, Wisdom, Good-
 ness, Tenderneſs to his People : Doing no-
 thing whereby he may justly deserve and
 draw upon himself their Contempt and Hatred.
 For if Men carry their Audaciousness so far as
 to blaspheme their own Creator and Conser-
 vator, and to trample his divine and dreaded
 Majesty under foot, as much as they can,
 why may they not be bold enough, to speak
 evil

evil of his Image, and to rebel against ^{Henry III.} him? Of this *Henry III.* had a very sad Ex-^{1589.} perience, which should serve as a Lesson to all ^{Pope Six-} Princes and Sovereign Magistrates *. ^{tus V.}

* That Prince was subject every Winter to such melancholy Fits, as made him almost mad; and the more severe the Cold was, the more he was afflicted, which to be sure very much influenced his Conduct.

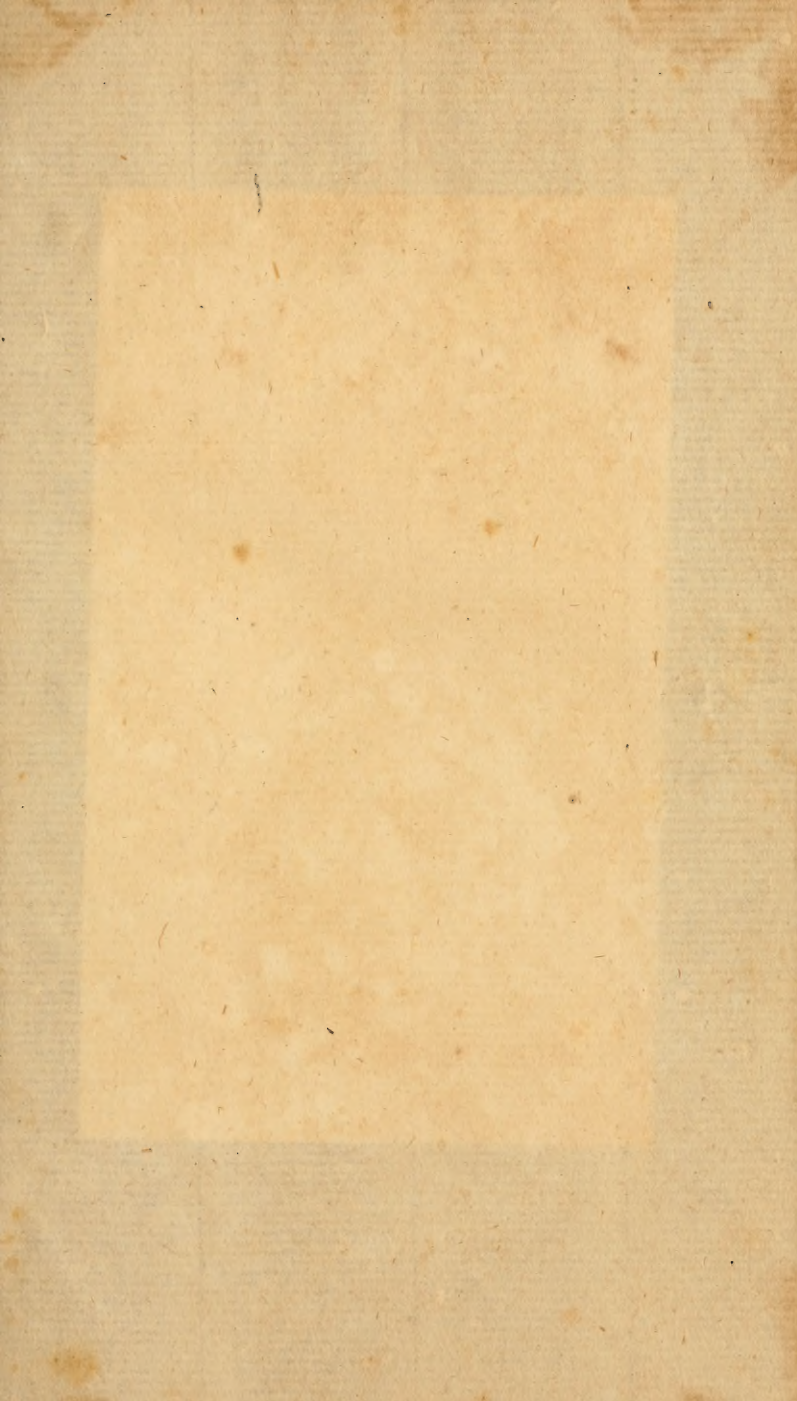
End of the Second Part of the Third Volume.











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